Vincent Sheean *Discusses the Soviet-German Pact*

Major General Graves *Shows How It Aids America*

NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS

September 19, 1939

What England and France Must Do

Major Allen Johnson Maps a Military Plan

Principles Stand; Tactics Change

A. B. Magil Analyzes Some Confusions

Don't Believe All You Read . . .

Joseph North Rereads the Papers

CARTOONS BY GROPPER, RICHTER, GARDNER REA, OTHERS

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Between Ourselves

WE ARE still receiving many letters on our issue of September 5 dealing particularly with the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, of which the following excerpts are characteristic:

Bruce Minton and Ruth McKenney: "This letter is to congratulate the staff on the current issue. It is one of the most skillful jobs one can imagine. It does just what should be done. It is specific and simple and direct and hardhitting on a difficult subject, and it is the most timely and important issue NEW MASSES has brought out in many a year."

John Howard Lawson: "I consider the last issue of NEW MASSES, devoted chiefly to the European situation, as a masterly contribution to a proper understanding of this crucial event. In view of the confusion and downright nonsense that has been offered by many newspapers and magazines as 'comment' on these events, NEW MASSES has performed a great public service in offering a rational, clear-headed 'Guide to the Crisis.'"

Millen Brand: "The issue is very fine, very helpful. And I want to put in a good word, too, for Edward Wall's story and Muriel Rukeyser's distinguished poem. I don't know how you can beat NEW MASSES."

James Dugan

NM's film critic and associate editor came to us from "College Humor" via the "Daily Worker." At Penn State Mr. Dugan edited the literary quarterly, the "Bell," and the comic magazine, "Froth." He came to New York in 1937 as a cartoonist but became preoccupied with the typewriter and a stack of jazz records. His proudest achievement to date was to have 100,000 copies of his NM review of "Gunga Din" scattered over Bombay, India, from an airplane, which helped ban the film in India.

Louis P. Birk: "I read the September 5 issue carefully, from beginning to end, and I must congratulate you heartily on the excellent articles it contains. It has done a great deal to clear my own mind on the present important issues. I congratulate you on the thoroughness with which you handled a very complicated issue."

Robert M. MacGregor, Portland, Ore.: "I have at hand the September 5 issue. It makes clear what anyone who is well informed about the international situation and the Soviet Union must have at least suspected, even during the worst smoke smudge in the press. Your handling has been factual, a nice contrast to the wild speculation and opinion of other editorial writers, and from my year and a half in the Soviet Union and my slight knowledge of Soviet history, your facts are correct."

Our "Crisis" issue, of September 5, doubled newsstand sales of NM. Dozens of letters and phone calls came from readers asking for extra copies to circulate among their friends. From all over the country distributors sent in increased orders. One reader bought 250 extra copies for his acquaintances. Many readers have requested a special rate on copies in quantity and we wish to announce that an extra press run of that issue has been made which we will bundle at 10 cents a copy for all orders over ten copies. The first report on the next issue, on the war itself, comes from a newsstand proprietor who sold 150 copies in an hour. Now is the time to sell NM subscriptions; we can scarcely meet the demand for newsstand copies and vigorous work by our friends in securing subscriptions will give our stationary circulation a tremendous boost. Inquiry at CAledonia 5-3076 will bring special subscription blanks in any quantity. Phone or write us now. NM will bring the same complete, calm, authoritative coverage for the entire events in Europe—the facts now being suppressed and distorted by the capitalist press.

Our war coverage will be led by Richard Goodman and Theodore Draper in cables from Europe, and in a weekly military analysis by Major Allen Johnson with up-to-the-minute maps. The caliber of additional war articles coming in the future is indicated by this week's comments by Vincent Sheean and Major General Graves. We shall also analyze editorially, with keen attention to America's stake in the conflict. These will be constructive comments, not the sowing of confusion.

NM will publish, during the next few months, a series of prose portraits of political figures, which will include Communist candidates such as Israel Amter, Peter V. Cacchione, and Isidore Begun, as well as members of Congress or otherwise prominent persons in Washington. Articles on Vice-President Garner and Senator Vandenberg of Michigan are now in preparation, and we have on hand a piece by Barbara Giles on Sen. George W. Norris of Nebraska.

The New York chapter of the League of American Writers announces that registration for its Writers School is open this week, with a full schedule of courses in creative writing, including Commercial, Creative, and Pulp Short Story Writing, the Novel, Book Reviewing and Criticism, Technique of Verse Writing, Radio Script, Drama, Pamphleteering and Labor Journalism and Publicity. Additional information may be obtained by writing to Nan Golden, secretary of the Writers School, 381 Fourth Ave., N. Y. C.

Who's Who

ALEX BROOKS, whose article in this issue describes a strike of migratory workers at Marysville, Calif., is a college student who chose Marysville as a typical community in which to gather material for his thesis on these workers. . . . Major Allen Johnson is a military authority who fought with the International Brigade in Spain. . . . Vincent Sheean's article on page 9 is from his address broadcast on September 4 over the combined networks of the National Broadcasting Co. . . . Robert Terrall's piece on the Chicago Hearst strike is the second of two articles on that subject and part of his series on large newspapers. . . . Lew Levenson has worked in Hollywood and as a Broadway press agent.

Flashbacks

MEMO to those liberals who mistake their own vacillations for reversals of Soviet policy: On Sept. 18, 1934, many of you were critical because the League of Nations that day became one of the instruments used by the USSR in the effort to prevent war. Membership in the League of Nations was as volubly misunderstood as is the German-Soviet pact. . . . Lenin after an illness, added the following postscript to an official bulletin of Sept. 16, 1918, announcing his return to good health: "On the basis of this bulletin and my feeling fit, I sincerely request you not to trouble the doctors with telephone calls and questions." . . . Memo to those who "defend" (with riot and rubber hose) the Constitution of the United States: That document was adopted by the Constitutional Convention Sept. 17, 1787, among other things to "promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty."

This Week

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NEW MASSES

VOLUME XXXII SEPTEMBER 19, 1939 NUMBER 13

Wall St. Sells U.S. Peace Pfd. Short

The friends of the pound and the friends of the peseta move in. A coalition Cabinet, with Hoover, to make the world safe for Hitler.

AMERICA moves to guard its peace. We fight for peace over difficult terrain, for ours is a continent between two wars, one in Europe, the other in Asia. But the fight can be won if we wage it wisely. Already we are moving on three fronts: economic, political, and military.

First things first. On the outbreak of the European war President Roosevelt issued a proclamation of this country's neutrality. This was as it should be. He then did what he would have avoided if he could: invoked the so-called "Neutrality Act," barring shipments of arms, munitions, and implements of war to all belligerents. Under the law he had no other alternative. This has been followed by the proclamation of a state of limited national emergency to safeguard our neutrality and strengthen national defense. Simultaneously executive orders were issued for substantial increases in the army, navy, marine corps, and National Guard, and for strengthening federal machinery to combat foreign espionage and sabotage.

REPEAL THE NEUTRALITY ACT

The next big task is repeal or revision of the Neutrality Act. When revision was defeated in the last session of Congress, President Roosevelt charged that its opponents, led by the diehard stop-Roosevelt coalition of reactionaries from both parties, were gambling that there would be no war. These gamblers have lost, but it is the American people who have been left holding the short end. It is their peace and security that have been jeopardized by the irresponsible action of those who accused Roosevelt of inventing a war danger. Had revision come sooner, it could have been a factor in the balance against war. Now that the isolationists have lost their cynical gamble with the nation's welfare, this country's collaboration with the aggressor through the un-neutral Neutrality Act should be ended without delay. Our fullest economic assistance to Poland and to all who help Poland is cardinal to any effective peace policy. A short war—shortened with our economic aid—a war that ends with a crushing defeat for German fascism, is the best guarantee that our own fight for peace will be won.

Certain obvious measures are also needed on the economic front, such as a curb on profiteering and stricter regulation of the stockmarket. And private trade in munitions ought to be ended through nationalization of the industry. The du Ponts and other munitions interests won't like that, but the American people showed emphatically in 1936 that they don't like the du Ponts.

Then there is the question of the composition of the recently created War Resources Board and of the advisory groups appointed by the Treasury and Agriculture departments. At no time is it so important to guard against the influence of the militarist or big business mind as during a time of national emergency. Anti-democratic forces are certain to use this situation for subtle and not so subtle attempts to restrict civil liberties and whittle down the gains which labor and the people as a whole have made under the New Deal. The present membership of the War Resources Board and the Treasury Department's Advisory Committee can hardly be considered reassuring.

TOO MUCH MORGAN

The War Resources Board smacks too much of Morgan and not enough of Roosevelt. Its chairman is Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., head of the House of Morgan's U. S. Steel Corp. Two other members are Walter S. Gifford, president of the Morgan-dominated American Telephone & Telegraph Co., and John Lee Pratt, a director of General Motors, another Morgan corporation. A fourth member is Harold G. Moulton, the anti-New Deal president of the Brookings Institution, which periodically issues "scientific" economic reports which by a curious coincidence echo Republican and Chamber of Commerce propaganda. The other members are Gen. Robert E. Wood, chairman of Sears, Roebuck & Co., and Dr. Karl T. Compton, president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, while Col. Harry K. Rutherford, Ordnance Department, USA, is secretary. Though this board is at present an advisory body, should the United States be involved in war or should some other serious emergency arise, it would receive sweeping powers similar to those vested in the War Industries Board during the World War.

Ad Reinhardt

Can a board dominated by representatives of the House of Morgan be entrusted at any time with control of the nation's economic life? What will happen to New Deal reforms under the direction of such men? What will happen to labor's right to organize? Can democracy be secure in such hands?

Nor is Secretary Morgenthau's choice of an advisory committee of three bankers any better. And he has named as his assistant as commissioner of customs one of the most ardent supporters of the Franco rebellion, Basil Harris, former vice-president of the United States Lines.

The enemies of the New Deal are already crowing about the success of these fifth column efforts. Arthur Krock of the New York *Times* devoted an entire column to gloating over this big business invasion, while the *Wall Street Journal* boasted editorially that "real lines of communication have been established between private enterprise on the one hand and Treasury, Agriculture, War, and Navy departments on the other." Obviously, what is needed on all these special bodies is a preponderance of true representatives of the people if our social and national security is to be safeguarded.

BLACKMAIL PROPOSALS

Reaction is seeking other entering wedges as well. From Walter Lippmann, who has his own pipeline into the House of Morgan via Thomas Lamont, has come the proposal for a national coalition government to include men like Herbert Hoover and Senators Vandenberg and Taft. Lippmann tries to draw an analogy between this scheme and the inclusion of Winston Churchill and Anthony Eden in the British War Cabinet. The analogy is false, not merely because our form of government is different, but because the appointment of Churchill and Eden represents a strengthening of anti-fascist influence in the British Cabinet, while the inclusion of Hoover, Vandenberg, and Taft would mean a strengthening of pro-fascist influence in the

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American government. In the one case Chamberlain was obliged to make a concession to popular demand: in the other it would be a concession to Wall Street demand.

Lippmann's warning that unless his proposal is accepted, the President will be to blame for tory sabotage of neutrality revision reveals the real meaning of this maneuver. Blackmail is no less blackmail even when it parades under the hypocritical banner of "national unity." True, national unity is the over-arching need in this critical hour—unity not with reaction, as Lippmann proposes, but against it. To place the American friends of Hitler and Chamberlain in commanding positions in the government is to bring America closer to war, closer to the destruction of our liberties.

In a recent column Dorothy Thompson, herself an opponent of the New Deal, wrote:

> They [the Nazi propagandists] are definitely trying to influence the outcome of the Presidential elections here by the most virulent attacks on the President, charging that he wants to get us into war in order to get a third term. . . .

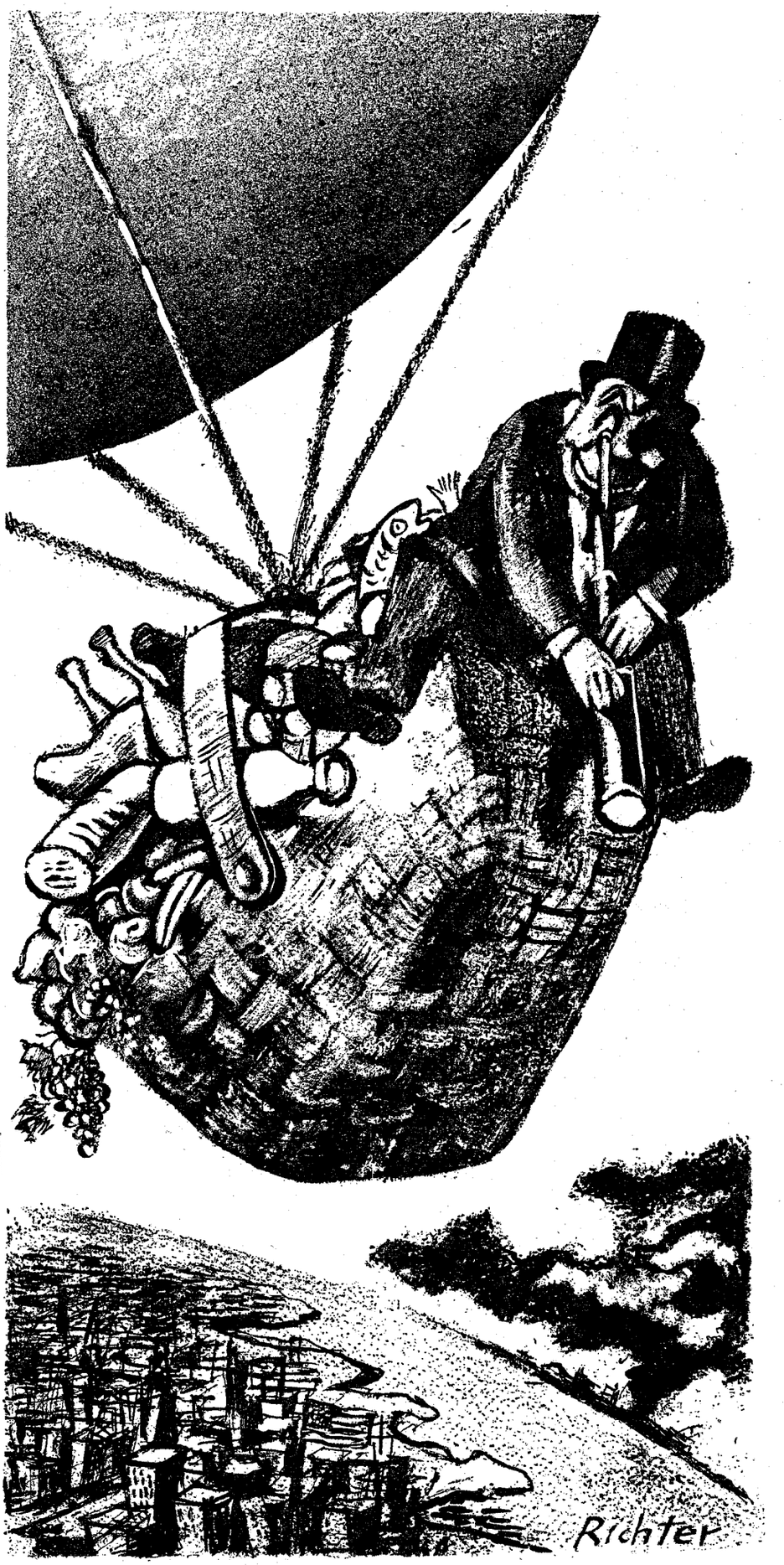
In other words, the Nazis are doing exactly what Messrs. Hoover, Vandenberg, Taft, and their Republican and Democratic confreres have been doing. The anti-Comintern alliance has been broken, but the alliance between Hitler and the American enemies of the New Deal remains.

The Nazis oppose a third term for the New Deal because they oppose an effective peace policy for the United States. Their attempts to influence the outcome of the elections help to simplify matters: *the issue in 1940 is Hitler's foreign policy versus Roosevelt's.* Which do the American people want?

To decide that issue in favor of democracy America cannot wait till 1940. Our people must be united now on the broadest scale. And our foreign policy must not be limited to revision of the Neutrality Act and cooperation with the Latin American republics. The USSR, too, whose foreign policy is independent like our own, can be an invaluable partner in constructive efforts for a democratic peace. That is the way to keep America out of war. That is the way to keep American democracy safe.

Coughlin to Goebbels

SEVERAL instances of articles in Father Coughlin's *Social Justice* being cribbed verbatim from Nazi sources have been shown recently. Now the arrangement has become reciprocal. A recent cover photo from *Social Justice,* showing an Illinois highway marker which reads "Roosevelt Road" and "Danger—Travel at Own Risk," appears in the issue of the Danzig Nazi newspaper, *Danziger Verposten,* for August 16. The photo appeared on the August 14 issue of Coughlin's Nazi rag. Did Coughlin send the Nazis an advance copy of *Social Justice* or did both papers get the photo from Berlin?



Observation Balloon

Mischa Richter

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General Graves Assays the Pact

Soviet peace policy "as plain as the tail on an army mule." Siberian AEF commander sees axis-busting pact as an aid to American defense and prosperity.

AT THE corner of Sycamore Avenue in Shrewsbury, N. J., is a little old white frame church which was built in 1732. On the weather vane is the crown of King George II of England and nearby is a plaque which tells how half a dozen venturesome pioneers came south of the Raritan to found the New Jersey community.

A step or two down Sycamore Avenue and you are in the heart of the rural East of America, where the traditions of the Revolutionary War linger.

Another few steps and you stand before a picket fence on which is a small red sign. The yellow letters read: GENERAL GRAVES.

Twenty years ago, the American Expeditionary Forces were in Siberia, seven thousand of them, with headquarters in Vladivostok. Their commander was the same William S. Graves who greets you now on the wide porch of his home, a straight, gray-haired, mustached gentleman of seventy-five, with firm handclasp and quick, solid step. This is the man who received orders from the War Department one day in 1919 to proceed to the Far East. What were American soldiers expected to do in that distant corner of the world, where the Japanese, the British, and the Czechoslovak corps of ex-war prisoners were poised against the new Soviet state?

HIS JOB IN THE FAR EAST

Two decades have elapsed and the experiences of the three years of 1919, 1920, and 1921 have receded into the past. But in the mind of Major General Graves remain memories of the struggle he waged to prevent the AEF from being used for imperialist purposes. He had a job trying to handle the Allies, and especially the Japanese with their White Russian friends.

And for three long years, General Graves obeyed orders. Despite intrigue, despite the ravages of the terrorist Denikin, despite the subtle trickery of the Mikado's imperialist officers, he stuck to his guns.

Today General Graves views the world situation through dispassionate eyes which instinctively perceive the real forces now at work in the world. His personal political philosophy may be summed up in these words: "I believe with Jefferson that a free man is entitled to choose his own governmental form. Some innate sense of justice within me has made me live up to these precepts. I believed in Jeffersonian democracy in 1919. And I still believe in it today."

That is why he chose to defend the Siberian peoples against the Japanese imperialists and especially the British diplomats and militarists who were financing the Siberian intervention; it also explains why he refused to aid Denikin, Kolchak, and others who plotted to defeat the will of the people of the Soviet Union.

ABOUT THE PACT

We talked first of the Soviet-German pact, seated in the homely old colonial house, with its charming and characteristically American furniture, the ease of wide settees, the high-ceilinged rooms and deep fireplace.

People have been coming to me saying, "Now what do you think of your friends, the Russians?" Well, I tell them the non-aggression pact is perfectly clear to me. It is in line with the permanent peace policy of the Soviet Union, which engages to remain at peace—not go to war—with all the peoples of the earth. I read Molotov's speech carefully. It states frankly enough the Russian position, which is against aggression wherever aggression raises its head. And which is for collective security, or, failing that, non-aggression pacts with any state which agrees to meet these simple terms.

But I want to speak from the point of view of an American, rather than from some special vantage point, over and above national sentiment. In my opinion, the non-aggression pact has relieved pressure against our own United States. The fall of the Japanese War Cabinet, the smashing of the axis in the Far East, means that we no longer have to fear—for the present at least—the recently intensified Japanese policy of driving European and American interests out of Asia. They'd have clashed with us at some point, if they'd felt they had the axis back of them. Today they stand alone, which means they can't move forward to another and greater war. And that means the non-aggression pact has aided in maintaining the peace in the Far East, and in the Americas, as well.

How does the pact aid us in the Americas? Until recently the Japanese worked hand in hand with the Nazis to cut into trade in Central and South America. This identity of interests has been smashed. The Nazis are being driven out. The Japanese are confined to their own Far East. Why, the pact, in this respect, is an aid to American prosperity.

I can't speak knowingly of the effects of the pact upon the war in China, because I am not too well informed of actual conditions there. The Chinese need help, in the way of munitions, if they are to drive the invaders out. The Soviet policy of aiding the victims of aggression may help them. Japan has shown great political weakness. The fact that the old Japanese Cabinet was in total ignorance of the moves of its supposed German allies will make it unlikely that she will find the national unity necessary to wage aggressive warfare.

But I do know that Japan's attempt to encircle the Soviet Far East is defeated. They wanted to slip into Outer Mongolia so as to be able to send small forces of mechanized troops over and through the mountains and across the Trans-Siberian railroad right of way. A very few such units, if they had slipped through the seven-thousand-foot mountain passes, would have been able to blow up railroad tunnels and bridges and interrupt the transport of men, supplies, and munitions to the Maritime Provinces and to Outer Mongolia. Once they did that, they'd be on their way to Lake Baikal and the rich Siberian lands the Japanese have coveted for years. But the Mongolians and the Russians stopped them.

Japanese policy twenty years ago depended to a large degree on the support of imperialist interests in other countries, the general added. Today, however, the Japanese are going it alone. Until the non-aggression pact was signed, they believed that they could continue to move forward against the Soviets, because Germany was prepared to hold the Soviet Union at bay in the West. Today, however, they are really isolated.

Asia for Japan and Europe for Germany—that was their dream. But now they realize they've been hoodwinked. And this leads me to the sad conclusion that this is an era in world history of low morality between capitalist nations. Agreements mean nothing; treaties are torn up daily. Such moral precepts in private life would mean we had slipped back into barbarism.

That doesn't apply to the Soviet Union's peace policy, however. It's been plain as the tail on an army mule. Stalin said the Soviets didn't intend to pull other people's chestnuts out of the fire. Well, he's right. The policy of keeping the peace, of defending the victims of aggression who choose to be defended—and not those who, as Molotov says, say one thing but do another—that kind of a policy is not only good for the Soviet Union, but for the world.

The veteran soldier turned to domestic politics with the remark that the forces of what he calls "big money" are at work here as they are at work overseas.

I have no patience at all with those who criticize President Roosevelt for biding his time about announcing his position on the question of a third term. The President, in my mind, is an example of a man who is doing the best he can to see that even-handed justice is ladled out for all the people of the United States. When I tell that to some of my friends, and when I defend the Soviet Union, some of them call me a Communist. Well, where the Communists are for justice, I'm for it too. And I want to tell you, young man, that half the trouble is caused by those right over here in America who don't want the people to know what is really going on in the world. They're bitter against the President because he thinks more of human beings than of property. And they're against the Soviet Union because they're afraid the people will learn what a real peace policy should be, and what kind of a society the Soviets have established.

You know in 1793 Jefferson said that he trusted the people to decide for themselves their government and how their lives should be administered. I do too. It's fundamental Americanism with me. But not with those who think of what they own first, and of humanity second. International morality is at its lowest today. But not personal morality. I trust the people. They'll come through.

LEW LEVENSON.

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WAR BULLETIN: NUMBER TWO

What France and England Must Do

Major Allen Johnson surveys the maneuvers of the past week. What the English and French must do to save themselves.

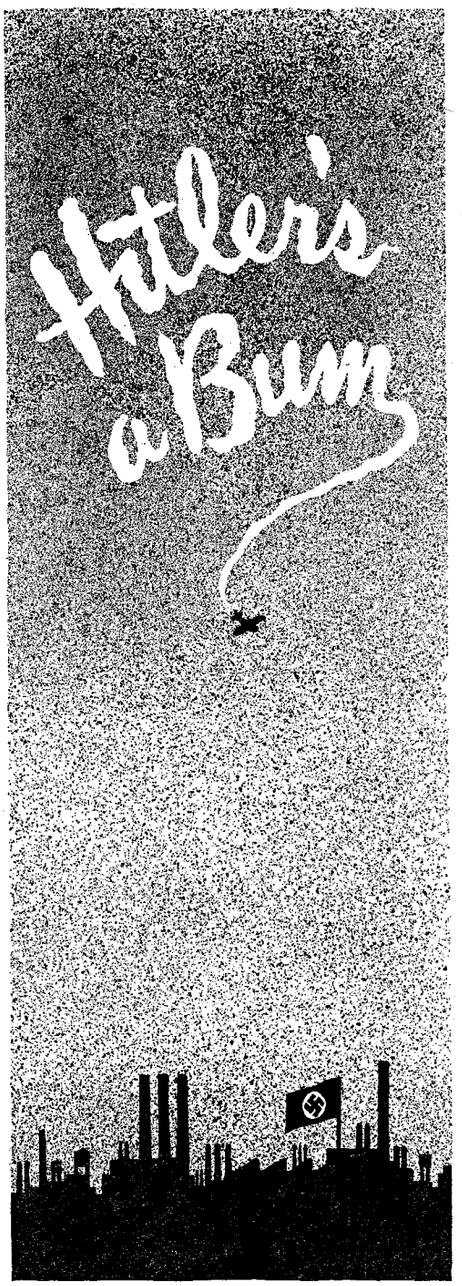
THE curious inaction on the Western Front has been broken by the advance of French colonial troops into the Saar. This region lies between the Maginot and Siegfried (Limes) lines. It was a foregone conclusion that in the event of a French attack, this area would be occupied. That is why the Nazis evacuated the Saar over a week ago.

The real test arises only as the French-British entente comes up against the main fortifications of the Limes Line. The conclusion seems inevitable that at this point a stalemate will develop. But Poland needs aid at once! Unless there is some gigantic finagling for a latter-day Munich, the Allies can do the following: systematic bombardment of the principal industrial centers of western Germany; bombardment of the main railway and arterial highways. If this were done, the German General Staff would be forced to withdraw a large portion of its airforce from Poland. Second, the resulting disorganization on the lines of communication and supplies would slow the advance in Poland. Why isn't this happening? Why, in turn, do the Germans refrain from aerial bombardments over France? Is there, perhaps, some tacit agreement that may bode ill for Poland?

NAZI LINES OF ATTACK

At this writing, Warsaw is holding out. The German advance seems to be checked, at least, momentarily. But as we pointed out last week, the advance *did* move forward as scheduled. Should Warsaw fall, Germany will have to prosecute the war with greater vigor. The German General Staff has always feared a war on two fronts. In Poland proper, the Nazi army will probably move along on four lines: (Lomza-Bialystok), (Warsaw-Brest-Litovsk), (Cracow-Tarnow-Lemberg), (Warsaw-Kowel). The first two movements will tend to concentrate near the Soviet frontier, north of Pinsk, where there is a railroad junction. The second will probably aim for Rowne, also near the Russian border. Such movements undoubtedly disturb the Soviet Union. They are calculated to occupy most of Poland, and utterly break the Polish Army. This can be prevented only by intensified pressure upon the Limes Line and by combined Anglo-French air operations within Germany itself.

Those who remember the glorious tradition of the defense of Madrid will be heartened by the resistance at the gates of Warsaw. If the might of the people is unleashed, if Polish leaders refuse to yield to demands for "strategic" retreats made by the British and French general staffs, we can be assured that the Nazi army will face severe obstacles at the gates of Warsaw. But in any case, the other German armies will proceed. It is unlikely that the German Nazi General Staff will tie itself up completely at Warsaw.



Stark

Britain's Air Force Carries On

Germany has always recognized that its imperialist ambitions would be thwarted by a powerful France. Consequently, the historic German aim has been to break the fighting strength of the French. The von Schlieffen plan was a carefully prepared effort toward this end. Using the central defenses as the fulcrum, this plan calls for a swing of the German right wing through Belgium, with maximum material and manpower against the main industrial centers of France. During the World War, only the colossal stubbornness of Hindenburg and Ludendorff, who wanted a decision on the Eastern Front, prevented the success of this strategy. It failed for lack of concentration of force. But it came so close to success as to prove its feasibility. One thing is certain: the German General Staff has not forgotten von Schlieffen's plan and advice.

WHAT WILL ITALY DO?

It is just possible that, with the occupation of Poland, Mussolini may find himself engaged in the war. So far, he has been guarding a weak spot in the German armor: the Brenner Pass. He has no doubt been valuable for the supply of raw materials and manufactured war implements. Though severely shaken by the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, it should not be thought certain that Mussolini has been severed from the axis. A concentration of German-Italian divisions in the Po Valley, with minimal forces along the Limes Line and in Poland, would give the axis partners three hundred divisions. That is 50 percent more than the German strength on the Western Front at the peak of World War fighting. With such a mechanized force it might be possible to use an adaptation of the von Schlieffen plan: a drive up the Po along two lines: Turin-Lyons and Genoa-Nice-Toulon-Marseilles. Such a movement would force the lightly fortified passes into France. It would turn the flank of the main French lines, and compel the French armies to fight where the invader desired.

All this presupposes a vigorous Anglo-French offensive in the West. It implies a true war between Hitler and the Allies. On the other hand, Mussolini might remain neutral in any case. But he might also be waiting for a most advantageous moment to step in, the moment when he can be decisive, and get the most out of it for himself.

Two other factors must not be forgotten. The first is the war in China, the result of which is that the Chinese people are aligned with the progressive forces, with the British and French, so long, at any rate, as they wage a serious, reliable struggle against fascism. Japan's difficulties with China will continue to increase. Formally, she may still be tied to the anti-Comintern axis. But she was

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McGill

WHAT THE ALLIES ARE DOING AND WHAT THEY CAN DO. *The German Army probably will move forward in Poland (1) on four lines: A, Lomza-Bialystok, B, Warsaw-Brest-Litovsk, C, Warsaw-Kowel, and D, Cracow-Lemberg. Ahead lies the fortified USSR border (2). Germany's Western defenses (3) make the French attack at that point (4) difficult. Major Johnson suggests that the following strategy should be followed by the Allies: An intensification of the North Sea blockade (5 and 6); aerial bombardment of the German industrial regions (7, 8 and 9); heavy reinforcement of France's southern border (10); and a complete naval blockade of Italy (11, 12 and 13). On the land areas of the map heavy fortifications that exist at present are shown with wide lines and lighter fortifications with a thinner line.*

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the hardest hit by the Soviet-German pact. Her new Cabinet has been making overtures to Britain and the United States. Irrespective of what Japan does, provided that Britain goes no further along the Munich road and the United States stands by its independent policy, China will have the last word.

THE BALKANS

The second consideration lies in the position of the Balkans. Here the collapse of Bulgaria dealt the first serious blow to Germany during the World War. Formally, Bulgaria and Hungary are aligned with the aggressors. They demand a revision of Versailles at the expense of Rumania, Poland, and Greece. Whether that formal alliance will withstand the setback to Germany is doubtful. But the possibility exists that Hungary and Bulgaria may yet provide another German front.

Interest in the last few days attaches to the Soviet Union. Reserves and material are being added to the forces of the Red Army. With war threatening to spread, with the danger of Poland's complete occupation, with machinations in London and Paris continuing, the Soviet Union naturally feels safe only behind her mighty Red Army.

To sum up: the time factor is of utmost importance—not alone for Poland, but for Britain and France themselves. Nazi Germany, having conquered the coal, ore, and oil deposits in Poland together with her granaries, will be a more difficult Germany to defeat. Once Germany can concentrate major attention on the West, she will be a more dangerous adversary. Immediate measures require: blockading the fascist powers completely; concentration of all power against the vulnerable industrial regions of western Germany, her railroad lines and arterial highways. All this would arouse legitimate fears within the Third Reich, Czechoslovakia, and Austria that can be capitalized by the active opposition.

MAJOR ALLEN JOHNSON.

Nazis Rebuffed

VIRTUALLY unreported in the American press, the Congress of the International Confed ration of Agriculture held at Dresden, Germany, July 6-12, was a setback for the Nazis and their Italian bedfellows. Major humiliation was awarded to Walter Darre, the Nazi minister of agriculture. Together with his pals from Rome, Darre attempted to line up the congress behind the autarchic policies of the axis. But the fascists were foiled when representatives from the democratic countries presented the seventeen hundred delegates with a volume of twenty-three reports criticizing the Nazi agrarian policies as preparation for war. Darre was compelled to withdraw his resolution on "Blood and Soil." Foreign delegates ignored their hosts, and visited German farms on their own to learn firsthand the plight of the German farmer under Nazism.

The War Against Profits

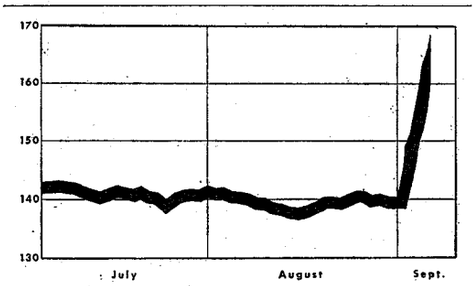
Big business seized on fear and uncertainty. Sugar was first, but more grabs will follow.

IN LESS time than it takes the fastest liner to cross the Atlantic almost every American had felt the effect of the war on his own life. A visit to the corner grocer on the ordinary errand of the day was enough to show twenty million housewives just how closely their lives integrate with the lives of people five thousand miles away. One purchase of five pounds of sugar was enough to wither all the assumptions behind isolationism.

It was inevitable that American capitalists, finding themselves in a seller's market and with an entire population conscious of European events, should try to take advantage of the situation. They were ready to act faster than they had acted in 1914, for at that time world war was a new experience even to big business, and the consumers were hardly aware that international rivalries existed. This time, however, speculation began the moment the markets opened; war material stocks were cornered, and Wall Street trading, which closed down a few days after the outbreak of war twenty-five years ago, jumped 400 percent in actual turnover, with individual stocks going as high as eighteen points over the pre-Labor Day quotations.

The most familiar and dramatic example of the immediate rise of commodity prices was sugar. In practically every city in the country sugar jumped anywhere from 10 to 60 percent. Five pounds, the ordinary household unit, had been selling at about 22 cents and went up to about 35 in most places. Reports came to marketing commissioners that consumers and retailers alike were hoarding against both shortage and high prices.

Before the week was out it was possible to place the guilt for profiteering where it belonged. The Department of Agriculture gave out figures of supply and consumption of all basic farm commodities. The sugar supply was estimated at 6,755,386 tons and normal consumption at 6,500,000 tons—an ample surplus for all emergencies. Our normal sources of sugar supply were being affected hardly at all by the war, and under any circumstance, the Department reported, the changing conditions could be met with no dislocations. That the increased prices meant increased profits for the farmers was a theory worthy of no support, for the simple reason that most crops have already been bought or contracted for. It was conceivable that the retailers could have been jacking up prices, but it was interesting to note that one of the largest organizations of small business men, the National Retail Dry Goods Association, was holding a convention, and gave out the following statement on profiteering: "We find ourselves in agreement with the President, but it is necessary to point out that retailers have no control over what is happening in production and wholesaling markets."



THREE MONTHS OF COMMODITIES. *With the trading of Dec. 31, 1931, as par, this chart, based on Moody's spot index of fifteen commodities and "Business Week" figures, shows a steady rise this month. The war news played havoc with the price scales in the first days of the week. They quieted somewhat a few days later when government officials and a wise public learned that there was no justification for change.*

The retailers were probably right. The American sugar market is held by twelve closely cooperating refineries. They are the ultimate fixers of prices. With the farmers and retailers eliminated, the only possible profiteers were the producers and their Wall Street representatives. Burton Crane, New York *Times* financial gossip writer, had it figured in his column of last Sunday: "Brokerage houses, while carefully remarking that nobody can tell whether sugar history will repeat itself, slyly remind the investor-speculator that the commodity rose 537 percent from 1914 to 1920."

The sugar incident will be only the first attempt of big business to jack up its own profits and drive down living standards. The people will pay for the results of last week's stock activity, and although the SEC and other government agencies offer more protection than existed in the last war there is still no guarantee against false booms. In the face of commodity price rises the situation is just as bad. The method used by the President to squash the sugar rise—removing quota restrictions and filling the immediate market—did the trick, but it cannot be used very often. The Department of Justice, charged with prosecuting profiteers, admitted that it had only the conspiracy clause in the anti-trust laws with which to protect the government and the people. The addition to government agencies of munitions and steel tycoons, simply on the basis of their industrial and war experience, menaces whole sections of the New Deal. How the American people can maintain their social gains and still be of the utmost service to democracy will be the subject of an early discussion in NEW MASSES.

RICHARD H. ROVERE.

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Vincent Sheean on the Soviet Pact

NOTHING in the present situation in Europe seems more obscure or has puzzled more people than the Soviet-German pact of non-aggression. The antagonism between Russia and Germany since Hitler's rise to power has been so violent that this new pact, ratified a few hours before Hitler's invasion of Poland, seemed to many people to be a sudden and inexplicable about-face on the part of both parties.

Whatever anybody says about Russo-German relations ceases to be true a few hours later, since the circumstances of the war must determine policy, and those circumstances can change very quickly with the nature and direction of the hostilities.

Even so, I believe a few facts about the Soviet-German pact are established for the present and can be taken for granted. We know that the pact does not oblige the Soviet Union to fight on the side of Germany against any other power, or on the side of any other power against Germany. It is therefore a kind of guarantee of neutrality, for the present, and except that it has been accomplished by means of negotiation instead of by proclamation, it does not essentially differ from the neutrality proclaimed by the United States.

This Russian neutrality has been subjected to interpretations of three kinds. The first is a purely cynical explanation, by which Hitler and Stalin—represented as two despots with a map to play with—agree on a division of empire. In this interpretation, we have a kind of childish reminiscence of the partition of Poland in the eighteenth century by agreement between Frederick II of Prussia and Catherine II of Russia, Frederick the Great and Catherine the Great. So far I have not seen the slightest evidence to support such a view.

Neither is there any evidence that this pact of non-aggression, this treaty of neutrality, contains the germ of alliance. This first interpretation was a false conclusion to which many people jumped as soon as they heard that such a pact had been signed, and in the days since then no evidence to support it has appeared.

A second interpretation now current has more substance to it. This is the view based on an analogy with the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk signed between imperial Germany and Bolshevik Russia on March 3, 1918. At that time Germany wanted peace on the Eastern Front so as to throw her biggest final effort against the West; and Russia under its new government wanted peace at almost any price. The price was heavy: Germany got, temporarily, great territorial advantages; but the Russian leaders believed that these advantages would be temporary and that Germany would lose the war in any case.

As it turned out, this was what did happen, and Brest-Litovsk was therefore a treaty without final results. But if you read Hitler's *Mein Kampf,* you will see that the treaty of Brest-Litovsk has had a great influence on his mind.

On the Russian side, the treaty of Brest-Litovsk has also been much discussed, as a question of principle or theory, ever since 1918. And the most consistent defense offered for it, by the Russian Communists, has been this—that it gave Russia peace and an opportunity to organize the new Bolshevik government while the imperialist powers destroyed each other. Something of this Brest-Litovsk way of thinking may have been present in the minds on both sides in the Russian-German pact. I think this was almost certainly so. And yet the historic conditions today are so very different from those of March 1918 that it would be dangerous to press the analogy very far. Russia in 1918 was weakened and shattered by the disasters of war with a population on the verge of starvation, and with a new government almost destitute of military force. The highly organized Soviet Union with its powerful army and airforce is in no such condition. Neither is Germany so hardpressed as yet by enemies on all fronts.

On the whole I believe a third explanation is more sensible than either of the two I have outlined. This is that Soviet Russia, failing to obtain a satisfactory treaty of alliance with the Western democracies, and haunted by the fear that she was to be maneuvered into a destructive war against Germany singlehanded, took Hitler's offer as a way of preserving peace for the present.

You will remember that British and French negotiations with Russia began last April and ran into many difficulties. The chief of these was that Poland did not approve of the projected alliance and would not agree to admission of Russian troops on Polish soil. The British supported Poland and the negotiations broke down.

There is a good deal of doubt not only in Russia, but also in Paris and London, as to whether the negotiators sent to Moscow were really ready or able to make a solid treaty. The Soviet prime minister, Molotov, in his speech to the congress of the Supreme Soviet, said that the British and French negotiators were officials of low rank, without proper powers to negotiate, and that they had not even presented any written credentials until the conversations were on the verge of breakdown.

Ever since last September, when Russia ran the grave risk of being the only Allied power to honor her obligations to Czechoslovakia, Soviet diplomacy has endeavored to avoid being thrown alone into a war against Germany. It looks to me as if this pact of non-aggression was a second-best choice for the Russians.

The neutrality of Italy, although due to other circumstances, may also have been partly influenced by the uncertainty set up in Italian minds by this new move. All over the world, just now, there are rumors of alliance between Germany and Russia, and whether we believe them or not—and I do not—they are bound to make a difference in political attitudes. So far that difference has been all to the disadvantage of Germany.

Remembering what indefatigable opponents of fascism the Russians have been for the past five years, it isn't easy for us to see how this new pact can survive the stresses and strains of a long war. Russian children for years now have been playing a game called "Hunt the Fascist." German children have been brought up to believe that there is no worse enemy to the human race than a Russian Bolshevik. It will be difficult indeed for the respective governments to overcome an emotional antagonism which they have themselves fostered with such care.

There may be something in the theory that the two extremes can meet to crush the middle but I don't believe it. In my opinion the Soviet-German pact is a direct result of that profound distrust of Mr. Neville Chamberlain which has been common throughout the world since the Munich agreement. The Russians suspected Chamberlain of the desire to maneuver them into a war against Germany singlehanded, and they took this way out, toward peace.

But in the immense calamity of general warfare it will be impossible for any pact to guarantee them permanent neutrality; and, if circumstances do force them into the war, my guess, for what it may be worth, is that they will not be on the side of Nazi Germany.

VINCENT SHEEAN.

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William Gropper

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Principles Stand; Tactics Change

Most liberals confused tactics with principles. The basis for their confusion on the Soviet pact is explained by A. B. Magil.

THE following quotations are taken from editorials and articles in the September 2 and 9 issues of the *Nation* and the September 6 and 13 issues of the *New Republic:*

The Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact will at least have a salutary effect in the Far East. Japan has already suffered a severe internal crisis, in which the military clique appears to have met an unprecedented reverse. . . . Only a fortnight ago it was widely predicted that the Hiranuma Cabinet would be replaced by a military dictatorship committed to a military alliance with Berlin. Such a development would undoubtedly have led to an intensification of the attacks on Britain, France, and the United States. Instead, the Hiranuma Cabinet has been displaced by a moderate government headed by Nobuyuki Abe.

Japan is of course severed from the axis by the Soviet treaty, and is unlikely to rush to Hitler's aid. Even Spain is reported to be alienated by the new developments; and Spain is hardly prepared for war anyway. If she denies the use of air and naval bases to Hitler and Mussolini, one great worry of the Allies will be over.

The one bright spot in the picture is Hitler's abandonment of Japan, which improves the situation in Asia.

Also it is thought that Britain may possibly be relieved of dangerous naval requirements in the Far East by Germany's letdown of the Japanese.

The Russo-German pact has removed the fears of these northern states [Sweden, Norway, and Finland] of a conflict in the Baltic in which they would be the innocent victims.

The Russo-German pact has made Franco's wartime propaganda ridiculous and embarrassed his relations with the axis.

The immediate attraction of this move [the signing of the pact] to Stalin was, rather, that it gave him a free hand in the Far East, and shattered the anti-Comintern pact.

Both the *Nation* and *New Republic* have severely criticized the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact. "Red Star and Swastika" and "Stalin's Munich" were the respective titles of their first editorial comments on the pact. But the quotations from their columns read decidedly unlike the consequences of Munich, unlike the fruits of swastika policy. All point, on the contrary, to beneficial effects of the pact, important gains for the democracies, including the United States. The quotations illustrate the dilemma of certain liberals regarding the Soviet-German agreement. After the first wrathful outcries, these liberals are beginning to do a little second thinking. They are not yet completely out of the fog. They are still playing Hamlet, poised uncomfortably between acceptance and rejection. But this is to be expected. Having swallowed in one gulp the Berlin annotations to the pact, as relayed by the American big business press, the process of getting the stuff entirely out of their systems will no doubt prove painful. One of the difficulties, too, is the endemic liberal habit of seeing life piecemeal, rather than steadily and whole, of failing to comprehend that the fight for peace and democracy is indivisible, that one can't help China, Britain, France, and the United States in the Far East without helping them everywhere, that one can't weaken fascism in the Far East without weakening it everywhere.

Some of the liberal second thoughts, while no longer disposed to cast the USSR as the villain of the piece, continue to be wide of the mark. For example, "Russia is playing power politics in the same manner as other European nations," wrote Heywood Broun in his September 7 column. If by power politics is meant that the Soviet Union is using its immense economic, military, and political power to advance the interests of its people and the people of all other nations, then it can be said that the USSR is today playing this kind of "power politics" more effectively than ever. But if by power politics is meant the unscrupulous capitalist diplomatic game in which all principle is abandoned and the interests of the people are sacrificed to the interests of the wealthy ruling few, then the Soviet Union never has and never will play this kind of power politics. In the one-sixth of the earth that constitutes the USSR the class roots of this imperialist confidence game have been permanently destroyed. The profit and plunder politics of capitalism cannot grow in a land where the profiteers and plunderers have been booted out and the entire economic plant and state power are in the hands of a united people.

THEY CAN'T UNDERSTAND

The source of liberal confusion on the pact is the failure to understand the Soviet social and economic system as the fundamental determinant of Soviet policy in every sphere. Liberals, including some who are on the whole sympathetic to the Soviet regime, tend to approach the USSR eclectically. They approve of this or that policy which appears to them good, but they fail to perceive that *every* Soviet policy is the product of a system that is different not merely in degree but in kind from the most democratic capitalism. This qualitative difference—socialism—makes it just as impossible for the USSR to pursue a reactionary policy in any field as it is for a fascist government to pursue a progressive policy. ". . . Soviet foreign policy," wrote Louis Fischer in the introduction to his two-volume *The Soviets in World Affairs,* published in 1930, "is largely a function of Soviet internal conditions and of Bolshevik principles." But Mr. Fischer seems to have forgotten this elementary truism. Now he requires no less than two simultaneous articles in the *Nation* and *New Republic* to embrace Chamberlain and belabor Stalin. Just read this: ". . . the handshake of Stalin and von Ribbentrop made the catastrophe surer and introduced another member into the society of war promoters" (*Nation,* September 9); and "Moscow was ready to sacrifice Poland or divide Poland with Germany. Moscow, in other words, desired another Munich, this time at the expense of Poland and as the price of peace" (*New Republic,* September 13). Are Soviet internal conditions less socialist than they were in 1930? Are Bolshevik principles less Bolshevik? I trust Mr. Fischer won't find his hot words too indigestible when the time comes for him to eat them.

Viewed in its socio-economic context, the Soviet peace policy, first enunciated with Lenin's decree on peace adopted by the Congress of Workers and Peasants Deputies on Nov. 8, 1917, is no accident, no product of temporary need or temporary events, but a permanent, ineradicable expression of the socialist system. Capitalist governments may for certain periods desire peace, but only the people have a permanent stake in peace. That is why the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union has formed one of its strongest links with the common people in capitalist countries.

WHERE THE CONFLICT LIES

An important consideration to bear in mind is that there can be no conflict of real interests between the people's government of the USSR and the *people* of capitalist countries. There is no conflict, for example, between the real interests of the German people and the British people despite the fact that their governments are at war with each other; the welfare of both peoples requires the destruction of fascism and the establishment of a democratic peace. The war that exists between these two countries today is the result of a conflict between German and British imperialism, in which the former is the aggressor and threatens not only British imperialism, but the British and German people as well. If the interests of the people of even two warring capitalist countries are in harmony, it is clear that should one of them succeed in overthrowing capitalism and introducing socialism, this accord would continue. The principle holds whether the people that have established socialism are Russian, German, French, English, American, or any other nationality. And harmony of interests means something more than absence of conflict. It means that the very existence of the socialist state is a source of strength to the fight for democracy and freedom in every capitalist country. Every advantage that this state, specifically the USSR, secures is, therefore, an

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advantage not only for the 170,000,000 people of the Soviet Union, but for the millions more throughout the capitalist world.

What strategy must the USSR, surrounded by a hostile capitalist world, pursue in order to advance its interests and the cause of peace? Here we come to another error that many liberals make in regard to the USSR: they tend to mistake a change of tactics for a change of principle. The principles that guide the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet Union have remained unchanged throughout the twenty-two years of its existence. But tactics have varied greatly in accordance with shifts in the relation of forces in the capitalist world and within the USSR itself. Louis Fischer at one time understood this. He wrote:

> Most of the basic principles of Soviet foreign policy between 1917 and 1923 originated with Lenin, but, in the final analysis, with the Bolsheviks' conception of capitalism and imperialism. Lenin's tactics consisted in exploiting the contradictions between capitalist governments and within capitalist countries. When the German offensive threatened in 1918, he advised appealing for assistance to the "Franco-British imperialist brigands"; when Allied intervention commenced he weighed the possibility of German aid against the French and British. He tried to use the antagonism between Japan and the United States, and between England and France. . . .
>
> This strategy of defense was perhaps the most marked characteristic of Lenin's foreign policy. It aimed to divide the forces of the enemy and weaken the united front against Bolshevism. It aimed, in like manner, to win time even at the expense of serious loss of territory or apparent loss of honor. [*The Soviets in World Affairs,* Pages 461-462.]

To quote Lenin's own words, he urged "taking advantage of every 'fissure,' however small, in the ranks of our enemies, of every antagonism of interests among the various countries," and "taking advantage of every possibility, however small, of gaining an ally among the masses, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional." (*"Left-wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder,* Page 52.) This is what some bourgeois writers have called the "opportunism" of the Bolsheviks. Actually, this utilization of a variety of means to achieve a single end represents the most steadfast adherence to principle.

It is only by examining the Soviet peace policy in the light of these Leninist tactics that one can grasp the full significance of the non-aggression pact. After the defeat of the Allied intervention the Soviet government established close relations with Germany, both because the USSR opposed the predatory character of the Versailles Treaty and because Britain and France were at that time the leaders of the aggressive anti-Soviet forces. During this period the USSR opposed the League of Nations which was the instrument not only for imposing the will of the imperialist victors on the vanquished, but for the organization of various anti-Soviet maneuvers.

Japanese aggression in the Far East and the triumph of fascism in Germany drastically changed the international situation, necessitating a change in the tactics of the Soviet peace policy. A differentiation occurred among the capitalist states into aggressors (Germany, Japan, Italy), countries like Britain and France whose imperialist positions were threatened and who were therefore interested, to a greater or less degree, in halting aggression, and small states like Czechoslovakia and Lithuania, whose national independence was menaced by the aggressors. It was in this period that the USSR joined the League of Nations, whose character had been altered as a result of the new international situation, concluded non-aggression pacts with every neighboring country except Japan, and signed mutual assistance pacts with France and Czechoslovakia. It was in this period, too, that the Soviet Union became the foremost advocate of collective resistance to aggression and won the support of large sections of the population in all countries. That the USSR, however, was at all times pursuing an independent policy was made clear by Stalin at the Seventeenth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in January 1934.

> We never had any orientation towards Germany nor have we any orientation towards Poland and France. Our orientation in the past and our orientation at the present time is towards the USSR and towards the USSR alone. And if the interests of the USSR demand rapprochement with this or that country which is not interested in disturbing the peace, we shall take this step without hesitation.

In keeping with this policy the USSR strove at all times to establish good economic and political relations with all countries irrespective of their internal regimes.

What attitude did many liberals adopt toward the new Soviet tactic of organizing concerted resistance to aggression? They reacted as they are reacting today to the non-aggression pact. They mistook a change in tactics for a change in policy. They shuddered at the thought of Stalin shaking the hand of Laval, of socialist Russia forming an alliance with capitalist France. They predicted the collapse of socialism in the Soviet Union and the disintegration of the Communist parties in the capitalist countries. The error which these liberals made—and continued to make even after they had begun to approve of the Soviet collective security proposals—was that they believed there had taken place a rapprochement *in principle* between socialism and capitalism. And the Trotskyites, then as now, worked overtime to make confusion worse confounded.

For five years the Soviet Union did everything in its power to create a united anti-aggression front. Such a front could have

Gardner Rea

MAJOR NERTZ OF THE FASCIST SHIRTS

"Marvelous thing, science. Joan of Arc had only heavenly voices to guide her, but I'VE got a direct line to Wall Street."

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stopped Hitler long before he seized Austria and Czechoslovakia. Such a front, even at the eleventh hour, could have saved Poland and probably have averted war. Brilliantly executed by Litvinov and other Soviet diplomats, the efforts of the Soviet government failed nonetheless. They failed because the reactionary ruling classes of Britain and France, actuated by their blind class hatred of socialism and democracy, and aided by certain labor and socialist leaders, sought to direct Hitler's drive eastward, toward smaller nations and toward the USSR. Stalin, in his report last March to the Eighteenth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, warned that "the big and dangerous political game started by the supporters of the policy of non-intervention may end in a serious fiasco for them." The fiasco has come: not the Soviet Union is at war with Hitler, but Britain and France.

The world now knows who were to blame for the breakdown of the negotiations in Moscow—the revelations of Voroshilov and Molotov, which have never been denied, leave no doubt on that score. And after these revelations, only fools or knaves can believe that the British and French governments seriously desired a genuine alliance with the Soviet Union. What they wanted was to dupe the Soviet Union into playing lightning rod to deflect fascist aggression away from the imperialist preserves of Britain and France. Stalin warned against that in March. The Soviet government acted to avert the danger in August. The imminence of the war crisis made swift action all the more necessary.

TO BUILD A DIKE

Efforts to form an anti-aggression front were never based on an altruistic Soviet desire to save the necks of the British and French imperialists. They were designed to utilize the contradictions in the imperialist camp, particularly the existence of aggressor and non-aggressor states, to build, with the support of the masses in the capitalist countries, a dike against war and against the kind of "bloodless" carnage represented by Munich. But when the leaders of the two dominant non-aggressor states persisted, despite pious protestations, in conniving with aggression, further negotiations with them became not merely fruitless, but a direct menace to the Soviet Union and to every country in the path of Nazi expansion. It is an elementary principle in political as well as military strategy that in order to defeat a bloc of enemies it is necessary either to organize a bloc of superior strength, or to divide the enemy bloc, or, if possible, to combine both these tactics. The first tactic having failed, the Soviet Union shifted to the second through the signing of a non-aggression pact with Germany. That it has succeeded in splitting the aggressor bloc is now clear. Japan is isolated in the Far East and Hitler is isolated in Europe, or, at best, he fights with the questionably benevolent neutrality of Italy. And the non-aggressor states, including our own country, have profited. Moreover, this brilliant political coup by no means excludes utilization of the first tactic as well: organization of a powerful front of Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and other non-aggressor states. But for this it will be necessary for the people of Britain and France to organize their own united anti-aggression front that will clean out the accomplices of Hitler in the British and French governments. And the United States, by likewise refusing to play the Chamberlain-Daladier game and by developing its independent policy in close cooperation with the Soviet Union, can help greatly toward securing that quick democratic peace in Europe which is the best guarantee of peace for America.

A. B. MAGIL.

It's All Very Simple

YOU may have wondered why the Soviets were intent on stopping another Munich. A lot of our commercial press seemed to think that the men in Moscow didn't really care. Not so Harry Elmer Barnes, writing in the New York *World-Telegram,* Saturday, August 26:

When Hitler came to power he had no intention of appeasing France any further. But neither did he court Russia. Needing a scapegoat to unite the Germans behind his Nazi banners, he found it in the Jews and Communists. He had also written in *Mein Kampf* that Germany must have the rich grain fields of the Ukraine. Hence the Nazis launched a violent propaganda against the Soviet Union, which was kept up incessantly until after the Munich conference.

It would seem that both Germany and Russia saw a great light after Munich. Both appeared to get wise to the fact that the British tory plan was to lead up to a European war in which Germany and Russia would destroy each other for the benefit of the British empire.

German propaganda against Russia suddenly ceased. Democracy became the new Nazi bogy. And last March Stalin blamed the rape of Czechoslovakia on Britain and France rather than on Germany.

USSR Public Opinion

THE August 18 issue of Britain's liberal paper, the Manchester *Guardian,* publishes a letter the English editors should have read before they denounced the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact. Writing before the pact, Charles Trevelyan states he spent two months in Russia at about the same time as Robert Strang. He says the Russians definitely wanted the mutual aid pact with Britain and France.

The Russians have no illusions about the international immorality of fascism. They regard the fascist governments without qualification as the only possible enemy. While war is generally regarded as probable and that view is far from discouraged by the government, there is singularly little anxiety about it. No one believes that if Russia fights alone there is any chance of defeat. No one seems to doubt that the Red Army could be a match for the Germans and Japanese combined. This does not mean, however, that they are indifferent to a military pact against the fascist powers. Of course, they have all along been in favor of a firm common front against aggression. Had the British and French governments been prepared to resist the dictators in Spain and Czechoslovakia, the Russians were more than ready to cooperate. Far more would they welcome democratic allies when a situation arises where they must resist an attack against themselves.

But about everything the Russians are ruthlessly realist and outspoken. They say plainly they do not trust Mr. Chamberlain. They cannot understand why, if our government has ostensibly completely changed its policy and has decided to distrust and oppose Hitler, the English do not procure themselves a prime minister who believes in the policy. They simply cannot comprehend a statesman who carries out a policy which he detests. It is not our common people whom they distrust.

A supreme interest governs all their actions. The Russians want to maintain peace. They have an economy which is every year giving their people a level of prosperity unknown elsewhere. Wages are rising, prices are falling. Unemployment is unknown. Cheerfulness, hope, and confidence are universal. They are, moreover, the most politically educated people in the world. There is infinitely more discussion of international politics than with us. And they know far better than our people that a firm front of the democratic powers means peace. They do not believe Hitler would challenge the formidable odds he would have to face if their armies, larger than and as well mechanized as his own, were added to the defense array of France and Britain. Knowing this, they want the pact.

Wilder than Hitler

A FEW startling facts were mentioned by Dorothy Thompson in her column following the announcement of the Soviet-German pact. She seems to hint that there was not the friendliest of feelings between the Munichmen and the Soviets. Though many of our friends have had contact with Nazis, we should beware of any encounters with Nazi "extremists," Miss Thompson mentions. If they are any more sadistic than Hitler, we wouldn't like to meet them. But read what Dorothy has to say:

If the news came as a shock to Whitehall; if Whitehall was "stunned," as the papers tell us it was, then there is no measuring the stupidity of Whitehall.

Germany knows perfectly well of the deeply anti-Russian feelings of precisely those circles in England which have the closest connection with the prime minister. Germany also knows how deeply distrustful Russia is of all Western capitalistic states. Therefore, as long ago as last May, and possibly earlier, Herr von Ribbentrop suggested that frank and realistic proposals be made to Moscow.

Hitler, of course, declined to be openly identified with this idea, to which the Nazi extremists, including Herr Himmler, the head of the Secret Police, were wedded, but he told them to proceed, and if their achievements were successful they would be endorsed by him.

Herr von Ribbentrop took the attitude at the outset that the German and Soviet regimes could not, of course, be real friends. But, they argued, neither could the Soviets be real friends with the Western capitalist states, particularly with the British government, headed by Mr. Chamberlain.

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Don't Believe Everything You Read . . .

A brief survey of the press on the war and the Soviet-Reich pact. The publishers have a job to do. Joseph North analyzes the results.

IT IS too bad modern American journalism adopted newfangled ways. I like the old times better, the frontier days when the editor would call Bill Jones a liar and lay his Colt on the desk in case of trouble. These days, what with libel laws and all the rest, it isn't customary to call a spade a spade. If it were I'd call Ludwig Lore of the New York *Post* an unmitigated liar, P. J. Philip of the New York *Times* a liar and a scoundrel, Westbrook Pegler—well, Robert Forsythe recently asked permission to call him a skunk. But new times, new ways. It is better all around, I suppose, to state my case and let the reader pick the punishment to suit the crime.

Let us hope no George Creel is set up in office once again: but there has been a regimenter of the press in this country in these recent turbulent days when truth is needed as never before. The coordinator's name is Neville Chamberlain and though he has had his little stint to do without checking with the American press, the boys have been beautifully loyal to the prime minister. They have given us a Chamberlain press, replete, uncritical, enthusiastic.

Mr. Sulzberger's *Times,* on September 4, gracefully bowed toward Downing Street:

> It is particularly the moment to pay tribute to the personal leadership of Mr. Chamberlain. . . . He has risen magnificently to the responsibility of a great decision.

By a Chamberlain press I mean one that forgets that though Hitler is the murderer, Chamberlain is the accessory. One that forgets that Munich led to Warsaw. One that ignores the chicanery of the Birmingham undertaker in the Anglo-French-Soviet negotiations. By a Chamberlain press I mean one that forgets the tragic lesson of Spain and the term it birthed—the "fifth column." By a Chamberlain press I mean one that chooses to ignore the traitor within our ranks. And that's the greatest crime of the commercial press these sad days.

A press that truly wishes to finally halt the aggressor, to destroy Hitler and fascism, would not have ignored the statement of the Communist Party of Britain which stated in its fourteen-point manifesto Sunday, Sept. 3:

> The essence of the present situation is that the people must wage a struggle on two fronts, first to secure military victory over fascism, and second, in order to achieve this, a political victory over Chamberlain and democracy's enemies in this country. These two aims are inseparable, and the harder the efforts to win the one, the more sustained must be the activity to win the other.

Think that over, you who remember modern history—at least as far back as September 1938. And don't forget how Madrid was handed over to Franco in March of this year. Remember these things well. The French put it neatly: the more it changes the more it is the same.

Before getting to the individuals I am aching to lambast, a few more words about the New York *Times.* Issue after issue, since this latest business began, it has galloped to press as though its editorial offices lay on Lady Astor's estate. The *Times* led, the rest of America's press followed. Unanimity of headline expression drove certain circles of liberals into confusion, shook the confidence of others in their own horse sense—individuals who up till now said they knew a thing or two of the workings of the press. But they fell, hook, line, and sinker.

Like millions, I have more than an academic interest in the nation's headlines. I followed the American press fairly diligently while I was in Spain. I saw there that headlines are printed on more than paper: I saw them stamped on the corpses of children. Every time I read a story by William Carney I saw the type translated into its ultimate: that crop of babies' remains on the marble slabs in the morgue down on Calle Cortes. As a newspaperman it was not pleasant to think that murders are committed in the glare of the newsroom on instigation of the gentlemen in the publishers' sanctum. But I saw murder in the prints as clearly as I did down in the slums of Barcelonetta when the Capronis came over. There is this difference: the editors have better aim.

What has been the press' principal tasks in this period? One, to justify Chamberlain's position and to ignore the suspicious quiet on the Western Front; (2) to attempt to stamp the Soviet's non-aggression pact as treachery against honest Chamberlain and to present it as an "alliance" with Hitler; (3) to befuddle the people's minds on the role of the Soviet Union; (4) to libel the Communist Party of America, to depict it as divided and shattered, and to do likewise with the Communist parties throughout the world; (5) to sow distrust and confusion in the ranks of progressives and liberals throughout the country, to scatter the forces of a democratic front; and (6) last but by no means least, to initiate the propaganda for a spurious "Unity Cabinet" that would permit infiltration of the tories into the chief places of government and thus stymie the New Deal and a sensible foreign policy.

This is their task: how have they gone about it?

There are ways and means aplenty for scoundrels: outright lying (P. J. Philip, Ludwig Lore); playing down of important news (the truncation of Molotov's and Voroshilov's statements and their obscure position somewhere inside the paper while Chamberlain got acres of front page space); false conclusions from faulty presentation of the news (the New York *Times, Herald Tribune, World-Telegram,* and *Post* editorial sections any day in the week).

But lies, having the shortest legs, are easiest to catch. Let us scotch just one, for example. This instance is not a matter of wrong slanting, or of a differing point of view, or even of sheer honest dunce-cap befuddlement. It was outright lying, exemplary lying, one may say. This is the tale about Gabriel Peri.

M. Peri is the well known foreign editor of *Humanite,* the official organ of the French Communist Party, now banned by Chamberlain's Gallic counterpart—Daladier. Now, I don't personally know P. J. Philip, Paris correspondent of the New York *Times* but I have ruefully read a lot of his stuff. He did a capable job distorting the news and conclusions that grew out of the Spanish war.

On August 25, in a wirelessed dispatch to the *Times* concerning the Soviet pact, Mr. Philip wrote:

> One effect of their action [by Soviet authorities] has been to split the Communist Party in France wide open. Yesterday Deputy Gabriel Peri, one of the most prominent French Communist leaders and the party's expert in foreign affairs, resigned in protest from the staff of the Communist newspaper *Humanite,* in which he had written daily comment on the foreign situation for some years.

The following day, August 26, his story carried the following paragraph:

> Gabriel Peri, whose resignation from the Communist Party was *prematurely* [my italics—J. N.] announced Thursday, acted as their [the Communists'] spokesman in the Foreign Affairs Commission and urged that conclusion of the Russian pact with Germany was all the more reason why France and Great Britain should conclude a pact on their side.

Note the "retraction." Mr. Philip had written that Peri had resigned. The next day Peri appeared in the Chamber as one of the spokesmen of Communist Party policy. Mr. Philip, however, mastered the occasion by a dignified retraction—a New York *Times* retraction—Peri's resignation was *"prematurely announced."* And then Mr. Philip coolly went on to report Mr. Peri's remarks in the Foreign Affairs Commission. The next edition of the *Times* deleted Mr. Philip's "retraction" entirely.

Ludwig Lore, the New York *Post's* for-

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eign commentator, eagerly picked up the hot coal: the following day he wrote:

> Gabriel Peri, an important member of the editorial staff of *Humanite* and leading Communist deputy, resigned from the party in protest against this perversion of Communist teachings. His American colleagues have no such scruples.

Scruples! But let's pass the word by, for the moment, God save us. To this day Mr. Lore has not retracted his lie. But he has added to it, brazenly, stupidly, for his lies have a way of bouncing around and landing in front of him in the shortest possible time.

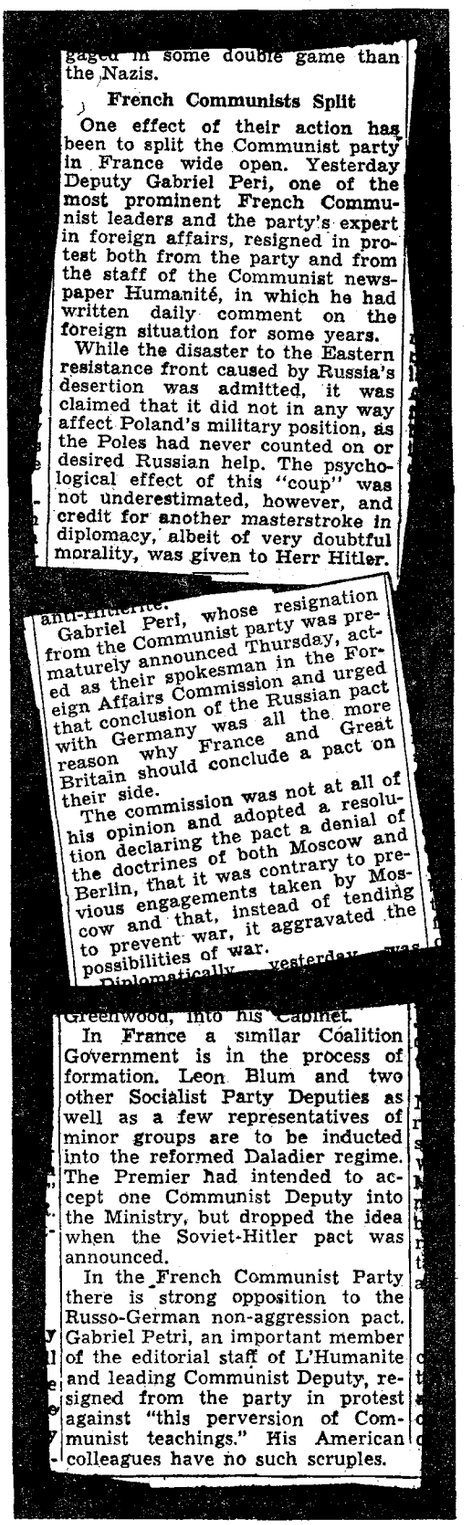
Mr. Lore wrote later, September 6, that "fascism is not mentioned once" in the slogans released by the Communist Party, USA, on September 4. It just happens that Slogan No. 3 reads: "Embargo Japan and Germany for the defeat of fascist aggression and for establishing a democratic peace." These slogans are to be found in the *Daily Worker* of September 5, and in NEW MASSES, September 12 issue.

I want to deal a bit more with the manner in which the press handled the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact. Let us not forget the manner in which it handled all Soviet news—from the October days, and the NEP days, and the "traitors' trial" days, on. Here was its chance, the publishers felt, to cast doubt upon the USSR, to smear it in the eyes of millions who have grown to respect and to revere the first workers' republic.

There was the first tack: this was not a non-aggression pact—it was a military alliance. (See Westbrook Pegler almost any Monday, Wednesday, or Friday.) The second angle: the Soviet Union abandoned its peace policy, participated in doubledealing with the emissaries of Hitler while carrying on negotiations with the military emissaries of Chamberlain and Daladier. But Voroshilov and Molotov explained that in detail. Where were their statements to be found? In obscure nooks of the press—compared with all the other news. The New York *Times,* Sunday, August 27, ran Voroshilov's story on Page 28—*Page 28,* if you please—under a one column head: "Soviet 'Explains' Break with Allies." Note the quotation marks around the word "Explains." (Objective reporting, if you please. All the news that's fit to print and you'll find the editorials, sir, on the editorial page where they belong.) This story was not even announced on Page 1 where events in Trinidad and other obscure parts of the globe were listed. This story carried the following statement of Voroshilov:

> Just as the British and American troops in the past World War would have been unable to participate in military collaboration with the French armed forces if they had no possibility of operating in French territory, the Soviet armed forces could not participate in military collaboration with armed forces of France and Great Britain if they are not allowed access to Polish territory.

The fact that the Poles (under Chamberlain's instigation) refused to permit the Soviets to send troops onto Polish soil in the event of war should, one would think, have considerable bearing on the situation. But you couldn't find that in the editorial section of the New York *Times.* The fact, as Voroshilov and Molotov declared, that the non-aggression pact with the Reich came about *after* it was clear the Anglo-French emissaries hadn't proper credentials to arrive at an agreement should have some bearing. This was ignored too.



gaged in some double game than the Nazis.

French Communists Split

One effect of their action has been to split the Communist party in France wide open. Yesterday Deputy Gabriel Peri, one of the most prominent French Communist leaders and the party's expert in foreign affairs, resigned in protest both from the party and from the staff of the Communist newspaper Humanité, in which he had written daily comment on the foreign situation for some years.

While the disaster to the Eastern resistance front caused by Russia's desertion was admitted, it was claimed that it did not in any way affect Poland's military position, as the Poles had never counted on or desired Russian help. The psychological effect of this "coup" was not underestimated, however, and credit for another masterstroke in diplomacy, albeit of very doubtful morality, was given to Herr Hitler.

anti-Hitlerite.

Gabriel Peri, whose resignation from the Communist party was prematurely announced Thursday, acted as their spokesman in the Foreign Affairs Commission and urged that conclusion of the Russian pact with Germany was all the more reason why France and Great Britain should conclude a pact on their side.

The commission was not at all of his opinion and adopted a resolution declaring the pact a denial of the doctrines of both Moscow and Berlin, that it was contrary to previous engagements taken by Moscow and that, instead of tending to prevent war, it aggravated the possibilities of war.

Diplomatically yesterday was

Greenwood, into his Cabinet.

In France a similar Coalition Government is in the process of formation. Leon Blum and two other Socialist Party Deputies as well as a few representatives of minor groups are to be inducted into the reformed Daladier regime. The Premier had intended to accept one Communist Deputy into the Ministry, but dropped the idea when the Soviet-Hitler pact was announced.

In the French Communist Party there is strong opposition to the Russo-German non-aggression pact. Gabriel Petri, an important member of the editorial staff of L'Humanite and leading Communist Deputy, resigned from the party in protest against "this perversion of Communist teachings." His American colleagues have no such scruples.

THE GOODS. *The top clipping is from P. J. Philip's story in the New York "Times," August 25. The center one is from Mr. Philip's story from Paris the following day. The bottom one is from Ludwig Lore's column, New York "Post," August 25.*

Another point: and this is the tack of practically every commercial newspaper as well as the *Nation* and the *New Republic*—that the Soviet Union traduced its socialist principles by arriving at an agreement with a fascist nation. Our contemporaries chose to ignore the position of the Soviet Union as a state among states. It put the issue as a compromise between *socialism* and *fascism.* As though trade unions traduce their principles by sending representatives to negotiate and arrive at conclusions with representatives of their enemies—the employers. And here Heywood Broun is one of the saddest of all cases. His column in the New York *World-Telegram* of September 8 was pitiable. He muddied the whole business up, found himself eerily in the company of Westbrook Pegler, General Johnson, and even Father Coughlin.

To detail further how the press pursues its policy of scuttling the New Deal and in general sabotaging a fruitful domestic policy in these dangerous days would consume more space than we have available in this issue. We shall return to that phase in subsequent articles and editorials.

But enough about the big business press. We know, in general, the stint they have to do. But the liberal press played a lamentable role. The *New Republic* and the *Nation* whirled about like weathercocks in this whole business. Reread what the *New Republic* wrote in its issue of July 11, "The Bear Sniffs the Trap"—and contrast it with its recent position. (See A. B. Magil's article elsewhere in this issue.)

In considering the capitalist press on these developments we ought to remember a few sentences from Stalin's speech in March of this year:

> The chief endeavor of the bourgeoisie of all countries and of its reformist hangers-on is to kill in the working class faith in its own strength, faith in the possibility and inevitability of its victory, and thus to perpetuate capitalist slavery. . . . It cannot be said that the efforts of the bourgeoisie in this respect have been altogether unsuccessful. It must be confessed that the bourgeoisie and its agents among the working class have to some extent succeeded in poisoning the minds of the working class with the venom of doubt and skepticism.

But we, as Americans, must remember the American commercial press of 1936. More than 80 percent predicted a Roosevelt defeat—stumped for his downfall—and he won by a landslide. Remember? Recall, too, the unanimity behind the prime minister at Munich. He had won "peace in our time." The press today shows similar unanimity on behalf of Chamberlain and against the USSR. Just remember 1936. You recall the old American saw—*You can't believe all you read in the papers.* Yes, Roosevelt said over the radio last week to check on all your news. Don't swallow it all.

Check.

JOSEPH NORTH.

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Papers for People Who Fink

The second part of Robert Terrall's story of Chicago Hearst's strike. The art of goonery. What goes on in a strikebreaker's head. The ANG strike and Chicago labor.

Most of the managers of the Hearst circulation branches were members of the Newspaper Guild, so shortly after the start of the Chicago strike the *Examiner* was being delivered by the official Carriers Association, which also delivers the *News* and the *Tribune*. It had cost Hearst $4,000,000 to build his own home delivery system. There was a Chicago policeman and several strong-arm men in each of his ninety-one branches, but not many newsboys, and it would not give the public the right impression for the thugs to deliver the papers.

The circulation department of every Chicago paper except the *Midwest Daily Record* has on its payroll, as a matter of course, a certain number of reformed hoodlums—which is what Col. Robert R. McCormick of the *Tribune* calls ex-convicts. There is a truce now among Chicago circulation departments, but it is an armed truce. When Publisher Meigs wanted a few guild leaders slugged, he stood across the street from the plant and pointed them out to his circulation manager, who delegated some of his boys to take care of it. Mr. Meigs also had a line of his delivery trucks back up against the guild picketline with their motors running, for which he was given the nickname "Monoxide." But the strike had only been underway a week when he decided that he needed a few more two-fisted he-men than were already on his staff. Thugs, even in Chicago, cost money—$104 a week, to be exact. Hearst paycheck stubs for that amount were found in the pockets of three laconic characters who called on a striking branch manager fairly late one night, and were surprised by police in the act of throwing a few bricks through his window. All through the first few weeks branch managers alternately had the fear of God beaten into them with baseball bats and were offered $100 a week and a job for life if they would come back to work. One of the Hearst district circulation managers went round offering a dollar for every window broken in a striker's car. One striker was knifed and left lying in the snow in an alley. A bundle of laundry in the front seat of another striker's car was riddled with bullets. A month or so later Edward Woods, one of the highest paid Hearst lawyers, was debating a guild officer at Northwestern University about the acts of violence committed by Hearst hooligans. "The Hearst papers have never given employment to that unruly kind of person," he said. The audience rattled him by laughing pleasantly. He said, "In fact, we fired them all yesterday."

Mr. Woods may have been telling the truth, for the profession of strikebreaking has never been distinguished for job security. But even without the extra thugs, the papers had expenses—posters in the El, radio programs, several million pieces of mail, occasionally a few hundred thousand free sample copies of the *Examiner*. It costs money to pad circulation figures. In June, when all the Hearst papers were ordered to cut expenses 10 percent to pay for the strike, the Chicago papers were not excepted. Twenty or thirty strikebreakers were fired, including some who, for a while, had been on strike themselves. The management posted a notice on the bulletin boards reassuring everyone that it would never sign a contract with the guild.

HEARST HAS FEW FRIENDS

The police detail keeping order on the picketline at first was composed of veterans of the Memorial Day massacre in South Chicago. When the circulation men came across the street with their crankhandles and leaded rubber hose, the police arrested a dozen or so strikers, and after booking them before a judge with two relatives on the Hearst payroll, had their wounds attended to. That same morning another episode occurred, which later induced the police department to transfer the Memorial Day veterans to other duties. The guild sound truck was being chased through the Loop by a Hearst delivery truck loaded with the usual larrikins from the circulation department. The guildsman at the microphone, being a peaceable man, broadcast for help, and when the Hearst truck cut sharply in front of him across from City Hall, a crowd gathered which cut off traffic for three blocks. It took a squad of police fifteen minutes to rescue the hoodlums. The Hearst management was amazed.

Chicago citizens hate Hearst. Rightly or wrongly, everyone is convinced that it was under Hearst auspices that the gangs were introduced into Chicago. That Hearst still had gangsters on his payroll did not strike people as being incredible. The new police on the picketline, though never going so far as to arrest any company thugs, told them to keep moving. So Mr. Woods fired them, or at least rusticated them to West Madison Street bars where they could be called back to work when needed. They were needed briefly in May, just before the management held one of its occasional negotiations; they were sent out to beat up the guild negotiators to get them properly cowed. Nonetheless, the management made concessions. Then John S. Brookes, of Republic Steel, International Paper & Power, and Koppers Coke, was elected president of American Newspapers, Inc., and with the fresh optimism of a Johnny-come-lately, broke off negotiations. The management had negotiated several times before, in more or less bad faith. One time thirty-five editorial strikers were invited to a strike meeting in the Hotel Sherman, and when they arrived Meigs opened the door, a bottle of Scotch in one hand, a box of cigars in the other, and a big smile on his face.

ANOTHER FRIEND OF HEARST

Though no Chicago radio station takes guild programs, as no Chicago paper takes guild ads, the strikers manage to get on the air by crashing man-in-the-street programs. The announcer says, "And what do you do for a living, Mr. So-and-So?" Mr. So-and-So says, "I am a member of the Chicago Newspaper Guild, on strike against Hearst." Sound engineers have orders to listen closely, and when anyone mentions Hearst, to tune him out quickly and fill in with organ music. The only Chicago station which gives the strike much attention is WCFL, the hoarse voice of John Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor, who mentions the guild only to curse it. Fitzpatrick, for reasons of his own, chooses to regard the company unions in the plant as legitimate labor organizations. Late in March, when a fact-finding committee of Chicago clergymen asked the management, the AFL union, and the guild to supply information about the strike, a strikebreaking copy reader named Don DeMichaels represented both the management and the AFL union. John Fitzpatrick does surprising things. He has taken a full-page ad in the *Examiner* to inform the public that excellent union conditions prevail on the Hearst papers. He has sent letters to advertisers threatening them with an AFL boycott if they did not put their ads back in the struck papers.

In January the Labor Board trial examiner issued a report referring to one of the company unions as a company union and asking the papers to cease and desist in their violations of the Wagner act. Whereupon the *American* put an eight-column streamer on its story—"NLRB RULES AGAINST GUILD." The *Daily News* head at first was "HEARST ORGANS HERE HELD GUILTY UNDER LABOR ACT," but in later editions it was changed to "HEARST PAPERS, GUILD, CALL NLRB RULING VICTORY." The *Times*, which had given more space to the strike than the other papers, used "NLRB CITES TWO HEARST PAPERS HERE," not saying, remarked the *Guild Reporter*, whether or not it had cited them for gallantry. The *Tribune* had a small item deep in the interior of its late editions—"Labor Examiner Makes Report in Hearst Case."

From the beginning the strikers have had to depend on their lungs to inform the public that the strike was still going on. According to the Hearst papers and the news broadcasts, two thousand deluded strikers reported back for

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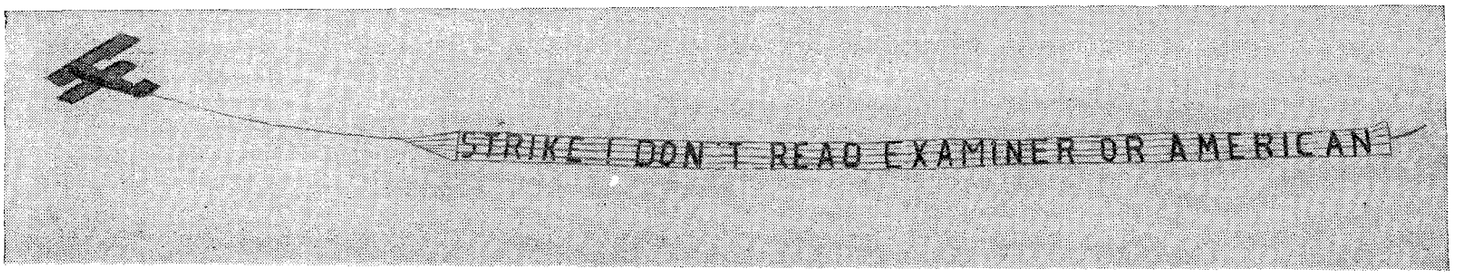

Photo by Striking Hearst Cameramen

THREE WAYS OF MODERN STRIKERS. *The trailing banner of the guild plane tells Chicagoans of the strike they don't read about in other papers. Left, Bert Sanders, striking ad salesman, and Bill Harmon, striking circulation branch manager, gag up the picketline. Directly above, Roland Erdman and Paul Lawdan, officials of the Carrier Boys Association, discuss ways and means of helping the guild beat the Hearst machine. They too are on strike. In spite of the powerful Hearst machine, the strikers' case is continuously presented to the people of Chicago.*

work in the first twenty-four hours, and the strike was called off regularly every day for two weeks. The sound truck, which was the guild's chief means of informing the public, particularly got under the skin of the little group of highly paid wizards—amplified for a brief time by Mr. Hearst himself—which was fighting the strike. The sound truck was so blatant. One night three gunmen stuck up the Loop garage where it was kept at night, cut the telephone wires, drove it down to the end of the street and pushed it into the Chicago River. The coast guard fished it out of twenty feet of water. After that the members of the company unions were assessed for a management sound truck to follow it around the city and make enough noise to drown it out. The guild also has a small sound boat, manned by a member of the National Maritime Union, which cruises noisily up and down the river and around the harbor. A few weeks ago an unregistered cabin cruiser bore down on it suddenly, hit it a glancing blow, and disappeared on Lake Michigan. The next week it was deliberately swamped by a speedboat. The papers, of course, got a court injunction against mass picketing, but when they insisted that the police department break up the guild parades through the Loop every Saturday the police commissioner said they were not parades, but sidewalk marches. Friends of the guild put up "DON'T READ HEARST" stickers all over town, and the papers sent out large squads of men with razor blades to scrape them off.

WHAT'S HAPPENING TO OLD CHICAGO?

In short, the wizards have been on the defensive. All their own offensives failed—terrorization, the back-to-work movement, the great jurisdictional dispute. The strikers, after nine months, are still spirited enough to knock each other over on the way across the room for supper after the daily strike meeting. Strike headquarters, in the basement of the Steuben Tower, used to be Texas Guinan's night club, and when Texas Guinan was running it there was considerably less noise and excitement than there is in it now. When their contracts run out, a few Hearst executives are going to be fired.

The full effect of this Newspaper Guild strike will not be appreciated till after the meeting of the Illinois Federation of Labor next fall, or till the packinghouse workers have negotiated a national contract with Armour & Co. There was a mass meeting of fifteen or twenty thousand CIO members in July in the Chicago Coliseum, addressed by John L. Lewis and Bishop Sheil, the second-ranking Catholic prelate in Chicago. As long ago as last December, Cardinal Mundelein, Bishop Sheil, and about every church group in Chicago was supporting the Hearst strike. A lot has happened in Chicago in nine months. Mayor Kelly as a New Deal candidate got more votes than any mayor in Chicago history. The CIO has appeared in packing, steel, farm equipment, on the waterfront—in a city where the labor movement had previously been in the hands of the AFL and the gangs. The CIO Committee for the Hearst Strike is being changed into a CIO Industrial Council. AFL officials have served with CIO officials on committees against Hearst; and the obvious esteem in which John Fitzpatrick holds the

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Hearst papers has increased the dislike of AFL members for John Fitzpatrick. All over the country, AFL and CIO unions have adopted strikers. A few months ago the Industrial Union Council of Tazewell County, Va., wrote: "As our town is only a small mining town I do not think it necessary to establish a 'Smash Hearst's Anti-Unionism' Committee here as we only have one dealer that handles Hearst's publications, and that dealer has already been attended to." But if the Hearst strike has not helped to change Tazewell County, it is helping to change Chicago.

LARRY KELLY'S STORY

What does a strikebreaker think? What goes on in the head of a Hearst company union head? Larry Kelly, the president of the Editorial Employees Association, was a round-faced, beaming young man, pleased with himself.

"You've talked to Tuck?" he said. [Tucker, Chicago minister who has been scabbing for Hearst and was interviewed by Terrall in his first article]. "I suppose he gave you most of the information you want. Well, here goes. All included there were 379 out at first. Now —this is just a guess of course—I wouldn't say there were more than seventy still on strike. The Editorial Association was formed first in the early part of June 1938, then we were chartered by the AFL July 5. Running over the thing loosely, the first meeting we held twenty to twenty-five people came together to form a union, people who had noticed the guild was making a furor, indulging in tactics that were opposed to all normal human decency, and we decided that if there had to be some organization let's get together and form an intelligent and decent organization.

"Well, we made plans and we had another meeting and more people came, and we got in contact with the proper officials. We decided it was better to stay on the *Examiner* right at first and get consolidated, not start chapters on other papers. As a matter of fact, we have a chapter on the *American* now.

"When the guild had its so-called strike our membership was about fifty. The guild's paidup membership in the editorial department of the *Examiner* was far less at the time, twenty-seven in fact. We unquestionably had a majority, but we didn't plan to do anything about it till the guild contract ran out. We could have signed a contract any time at all, but the guild contract ran out January 20 and we wanted to have everything perfectly legal, so we waited till January 21.

"The CIO naturally has its eye on getting control of the press. Absolutely. They could have done it in any other city but they picked on Chicago. They picked the Hearst papers because they weren't any too strong anyway.

"You know, in a newspaper plant there are a lot of people technically under the wing of the AFL unions—kids that sweep out and so forth. But those birds didn't want anything to do with the guild. They organized the Commercial Associates, affiliated with the AFL, then they said fine and dandy, bring on your plant election. But the guild looked at the situation and said, Jesus, we can't have a plant election, we wouldn't be able to win it!

"During the summer we have some circulation stunts, the soap box derby, that sort of thing, and we have to have temporary workers. At the end of the summer we let them go. That's what the guild calls mass firings. There are 2,400 AFL members in the plant, 220 in the editorial union. I don't know the exact figures but that's what they are roughly. Why, we were only too happy to have a plant election.

"A group of employees came back to work a few weeks later. I wish to God I had their statement, it was a masterpiece. It was an illegal sort of situation from the start, absolutely no basis. I was speaking one night down at the Holy Name Society with a gentleman from the guild, giving our different sides of the story. In the question period one man got up and asked why there was a strike, if our wages and hours were well above the guild minimums and our working conditions satisfactory. Morris, the gentleman from the guild, just stood there scratching his head. He couldn't answer for the life of him, and there's no one down there who can. There's not one cause for striking, legal, moral, or ethical.

"Unions are all pretty new to me. I've worked on this paper twelve years, about twice as much as most of those pipsqueaks down there. I always depended on my personal relationship with the management to get along. I was surprised, as a matter of fact, when unions began to invade the newspaper industry. But I looked around and saw it was the trend of the times. It seems that now you've just about got to get together as a group. But I didn't want to get mixed up with those alienists and Communists in the CIO.

"They're all aliens. Look at Harry Bridges, not even a citizen. Harry Wohl has been called a Communist before a Congressional committee. A witness said on oath before the Dies committee that Harry Wohl was a Communist. I don't think the rank and file are all Communists necessarily. I think they are being misled by a rabid minority. As I said, some went out and saw they were being misled and came right back.

"We have nothing against the management. The Hearst management, so far as I personally know, has been absolutely fair. In fact in the last few months I've got a little sore at them because in my opinion they've been leaning over backwards to be fair.

"That guild contract was virtually dictated by the guild, and it was lived up to scrupulously by the management. The guild was given bulletin boards. Well, they couldn't pull any pressure stuff in the office, but they were treated absolutely fairly. We spent a week negotiating our contract. I never figured up what pay increases we got specifically. There were some increases, I know. Just a couple of weeks ago a couple of people got 5 percent increases. According to our contract, you get an automatic 5 percent increase after being here five years.

"Well, there was a little violence. A great throng of people were out here picketing around the corner; I don't know how many of them actually ever worked for the paper, maybe a tenth of them. Well, you know the circulation men. They are a pretty tough bunch of monkeys. It was all over in five minutes.

"The circulation has gone up somewhat in the last six months. Six thousand or twelve thousand daily. I don't know the exact figures. The advertising naturally hasn't been any too damn hot. But people who say the guild is responsible don't stop to figure out that a year ago the *Examiner* was a full-sized paper, and when it changed into a tabloid it transferred all its classified ads to the *American*. Of course the *American* has gone down too. But it's now on the upgrade.

"The guild is trying to wreck the AFL and these two papers. There's a handful of muggs out there now. Damn it, if they had walked out for some good reason, because they were harassed into it, I would have been the first to join them. But no, absolutely not. Ask any one of those muggs the reason. He can't tell you." ROBERT TERRALL.

It's Up to Labor

THE recent convention of the American Newspaper Guild spent a good deal of time surveying and discussing the American labor press. The guild is now preparing a pamphlet with the results of the study, giving vital facts about the labor press of today and what can be done to expand it.

Although the Department of Labor lists only 323 union papers—110 organs of internationals, thirty-four locals, fifteen from state federations, 108 from municipal central councils, and thirty-three labor-endorsed local papers—the guild estimated that the CIO, AFL, and other groups had a labor press totaling seven hundred publications.

The labor press is growing, but the commercial press is falling off in numbers. This does not necessarily mean a decline in the financial strength of the capitalist press but, rather, a growth of monopoly. In actual numbers of local dailies in operation, this country passed the peak in 1909. Today there are only 209 cities with more than one newspaper, meaning, for the most part, that competition is being bought up or coordinated. In recognition of this and the fact that there is little ideological competition in the commercial field, the guild's committee concluded that "if new papers are to appear which will break the present conservative position of the commercial press" it is up to labor to do the job.

Consistency

IN THE station of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad, at Waynoka, Okla., are four little rooms, the doors of which are marked: "Men," "Women," "Negro Men," and "Negro Women." On the wall of the waiting room is a large, full-bearded portrait of Abraham Lincoln.

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A Factory in the Field Strikes

In Marysville, Calif., where the Okies, Arkies, and Texies have organized. Man vs. the Associated Farmers. The vintage of the Grapes of Wrath.

It's hard not to tell about one isolated part of the migratory workers' struggles in California without telling the whole story of misery, poverty, squalor—and courage. It's hard not to say, "These are only the workers in Marysville I'm talking about. There are workers in Tulare, in Modesto, in Lodi, in Brawley, who are fighting just as hard, just as fiercely!" And it's hard not to go into great detail about the people and the hardship they endure—every family with a history of pain and frustration.

But in Marysville the workers have organized. The Okies and Arkies and Texies have *organized*. That means something, because these men and women from the Dust Bowl are America's "rugged individualists"—farmers who clung to the soil until the last blast of wind blew it away, who clutched the last bit of green until it turned brown—men who fought to keep their land until nature beat them out.

That was Man versus Nature. Today the Okies, transplanted from the Southwest into California, are fighting a different enemy just as bitterly—and winning slowly but surely. The enemy now is the Associated Farmers—in Marysville in May it was the Earl Fruit Co., subsidiary of the vast DiGiorgio Corp., which sprawls over seven states, and whose interests run into millions of dollars.

THEY WANTED A NICKEL

In May 350 workers of the Earl Fruit Co. struck for a five-cent increase in wages, the dismissal of an efficiency expert who played the part of a spy, and the rehiring of men the efficiency expert had fired. The walkout was spontaneous and successful. The workers, who had never been in a union, went to Sacramento for advice on staging their strike. When they returned they were a union, affiliated with the UCAPAWA—the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Affiliated Workers of America, a CIO union. They stayed out for nine days—all of them, determined that they would win, or else! At the end of those nine days a conference was called in the sheriff's office. A committee of ten rank-and-file members went to the office and found the sheriff, the district attorney, a justice of peace, another sheriff (of neighboring Sutter County), the superintendent of the company, *and* the president of the Associated Farmers.

An oral agreement was reached which was favorable to the workers, which might have made the president of the Associated Farmers a little uneasy had he not known what was going to happen. The workers, of course, didn't know what was going to happen. What they thought was going to happen was this: they *thought* they were going to get a five cent raise; they *thought* the men would be reinstated; they *thought* the efficiency expert would be fired. All this with no discrimination against the men who had gone on strike. That was in the agreement. That was the company's word. Of course, it was an oral agreement, but there were enough witnesses to make it binding—the workers *thought*.

The strikers were satisfied. The company was satisfied. The sheriff and the district attorney were satisfied. Even the Associated Farmers were satisfied. Was there something wrong? There was.

THE COMPANY'S GREETING

The next day the 350 workers joyously headed for the ranch. They were met at a newly erected iron gate by an employee with a pistol in his hand. Was this the way the company greeted its workers? Evidently. Were they going back to work? No, they were told, the ranch had enough help already. The 350 looked through the gates into the ranch where the "help" —several hundred scabs imported from nearby Sacramento—were busily working. Most of them shuffled back into town in bewilderment, thinking about that long word "discrimination." Only forty of the 350 were rehired. In later days these forty were gradually eased out of their jobs, so that soon practically the entire 350 strikers were on the outside of the Earl Fruit Co. ranch —looking in. Many of these men had worked in the same orchards for many consecutive years—some as long as eight and ten years. The scabs worked on.

The men waited patiently for work. Pear picking season was reaching its peak, yet none of them were rehired. But now pear-pickers were streaming into Marysville in their ancient jalopies, and were getting work while they waited for the reinstatement the company had promised. Finally they sent a delegation to the manager of the Earl Fruit Co.'s ranch, and when they asked about going back to work again were told bluntly, "Nobody in that damned union can work here!" The manager added that the workers had "built a fire" under him in May, that now he had control of the fire and was going to keep it burning under them.

THE LAST STRAW

The indignant workers decided to picket the ranch in protest. The Okies and the Arkies, who had been beaten down so long, had been handed the last straw. The men and women who knew only their individualistic traditions of farming began to learn about organization, its power and its effect. The abuse of the company's promise seemed to start a conflagration among the workers. Most of them still didn't belong to a union. Many of them didn't even know what a union was. But they flocked to the CIO headquarters—hundreds of them—and listened to the speeches delivered by migratory workers who knew little more than the audience about union tactics and strategy. The voice of protest was in the people, and from the people the CIO built its strength. The women joined the men in the meetings and on the picket line. Crude signs were hurriedly painted. The union hall buzzed with activity. En masse the picketers went out to the Earl ranch and threw a picketline around it.

But the workers were fighting a David and Goliath battle. They had a strike against them in the first place because in some counties in California it is illegal to picket. Yuba County had a very neat little anti-picketing ordinance which had been passed two years before at the instigation of the Associated Farmers. The law was called in by the Earl Fruit Co. The reactionary forces began to gird their loins. Out came the sheriff. The sheriff was bewildered by the crowd. He didn't know whom to arrest. So the manager of the ranch very obligingly told the sheriff whom to arrest. Five leaders were arrested for violating the anti-picketing ordinance of Yuba County. But the picketline didn't break up.

That was the beginning. Eight days later the men were still picketing. In a stroke the sheriff arrested seventeen men for violating the ordinance, including Luke Hinman, the CIO organizer who had come to Marysville to help out the struggling union. A little later twelve men were arrested for conspiracy to violate the anti-picketing ordinance, a charge almost as ludicrous as an earlier one in California labor history—one leveled against the workers in the famous Sacramento syndicalist trials, in which eight men were convicted, and sentenced to the penitentiary, for "attempting to conspire to commit criminal syndicalism." That was a victory for the Associated Farmers. The Associated Farmers are determined to make Marysville another Sacramento.

DRUNKS OUT—STRIKERS IN

The pickets still picketed. And Sheriff McCoy still arrested, until he had made ninety-seven arrests — practically putting an entire strike in jail. In order to achieve that record he illegally raided the union hall twice. He kidnaped some men, took them to the county line, slugged them, and told them to get out and stay out of the county. He gave "floaters" to those he didn't slug. He arrested men who were wearing CIO buttons—told them to get the buttons of their jackets, and in some instances his men actually ripped the buttons off. Assisting the sheriff was Deputy

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Sheriff Wilcoxon whose reputation, even around Marysville, hasn't been so good ever since he shot a handcuffed boy in the back and killed him.

The jails were so clogged with union prisoners that the sheriff was forced to release drunkards and bums in order to give the Okies and Arkies his foul cells and fouler food. The picketline continued to picket. The women took over while their husbands were in jail, and ran the soup kitchen to boot—a soup kitchen in which two hundred men and women were fed daily. The fare was simple—relief beans, gravy, tomatoes, bread, coffee in tin cans.

The men in jail were held incommunicado. Nobody could get in touch with them. This was the district attorney's order and he couldn't explain to an interested reporter why he gave the order. When the Associated Farmers were mentioned he turned red and stuttered an answer. The district attorney is just a young fellow—at the time he took over office he was the youngest in California. The Associated Farmers will help him harden. But one of the strikers managed to smuggle a note out by a released prisoner. He was being bullied into accepting a suspended sentence of six months by pleading guilty. "I'm holding tight!" his little note said. The spirit of the men was high. They were in jail—and they knew why they were in jail. At last they knew their enemy, and they were battling.

WHERE WAS THE COMPANY?

Meanwhile a conference was held in Governor Olson's office. The representatives of the Earl Fruit Co. were invited to confer with the representatives of the union. The union men were there, but the Earl Fruit Co. was not. Instead the governor received a harsh telegram from the manager of the company saying that there was "no strike" and "no disturbance." Yet four carloads of state highway patrolmen were called for and all the foremen on the ranch carried guns. When the governor sent a special investigator to Marysville the Associated Farmers, speaking for the Earl Fruit Co., blasted out "Hitler!"

With the aid of scabs the Earl Fruit Co. gradually had its crop picked—at a wage less than the strikers had won earlier in the year. The picketline dropped away because its use was over. Now the trials are in progress and already nineteen men of the ninety-seven have been convicted—only three acquitted. These nineteen were convicted by a Marysville jury on the most flimsy evidence. The affair has been a sellout from start to finish. The jury didn't have to be "bought off." The interests of the jury—the town's vested interests and the interests of the Earl Fruit Co.—were enough to ensure the verdicts of guilt they brought in for nineteen men. There was no evidence that there had been anything but peaceful picketing—yet nineteen men so far have been convicted. These men were merely exercising their rights to have a union, to strike, and to picket—rights guaranteed by the Constitution and the Wagner act, which the Associated Farmers would like to take away. But the men who know their rights also know how to fight for them. The cases will be appealed to a higher court until the men are released of their "guilt."

WHO, WHAT IS THE COMPANY?

Who and what is the Earl Fruit Co. which was too poor to grant its employees a living wage—a company which promised to rehire and pay, and did neither? The Earl Fruit Co. is a subsidiary of the DiGiorgio Corp., one of the largest fresh-fruit-growing and marketing organizations in the world, with operations widely diversified both as to geography and products. Its two main subsidiaries, of which the Earl Fruit Co. is one, own directly and indirectly over seven thousand acres of land in Florida, nearly two thousand in Georgia, fifteen thousand acres in California, over a thousand acres in Washington, and four hundred acres in Idaho. The company is one of the major growers of grapes, plums, pears, and apples. The Earl Fruit Co. owns and operates a winery at Delano, Calif., with an annual capacity of seven million gallons, as well as 95 percent of the Klamath Lumber & Box Co., in Oregon, for its fruit boxes. During 1935 the company acquired three thousand shares of capital stock (37½ percent of outstanding) of the Italian Swiss Colony, in exchange for 1,500,000 gallons of wine.

The entire DiGiorgio Fruit Corp., through the Earl Fruit Co., owns the Baltimore Fruit Exchange, a controlling interest in the New York Fruit Auction Corp., as well as important interests in fruit auctions all over the country. The company sells not only its own fruit in these auctions, but also the fruit of other companies, on a commission basis.

The company sprawls over five states and controls every process possible in the sale of fruit—growing, packing, marketing, even the making of the boxes. The connections with the railroads, bankers, and power companies are obvious. The business of Joe DiGiorgio controls forty other companies. It's like a Horatio Alger story come true in sunny California—at the expense of the worker.

JOE DI GIORGIO

Naturally Joe is interested in the Associated Farmers, and they're interested in him. That's why they're helping him in this trouble in Marysville. That's why the sheriff and the district attorney as well as other "law enforcement" officers are so busy. That's why there is a special prosecutor to prosecute the pickets. Joe DiGiorgio controls the California scene—he also controls the Eastern markets. Simple, isn't it? The Associated Farmers scream "Labor!" so loud that the other farmers miss the import of Joe's organization, and become Associated Farmers themselves, only swelling the ranks in the fight against the workers, which unknown to the small farmers, is a fight against themselves. The farmers competing with Joe are fooled, and a big strikebreaking organization is built up—vigilantes are organized. Associated Farmers, Inc., is controlled by the Joe DiGiorgios of California agriculture, and it's these groups that the workers know at last they have to fight.

TOUGH MR. BIGGS

A typical Associated Farmer they have to fight is Claude Biggs, the editor of the Yuba City *Herald*, a paper across the river from Marysville. Yuba City has a civic pride of its own, even if its trade is dominated by Marysville. During the picketing Claude jumped into the fray to help the Associated Farmers with spectacular articles headed with headlines reading "RED MARCH ON MARYSVILLE." He wrote about the thousands of refugees who were streaming across the river from Marysville. It was a lot of fun, but to Claude it was very serious. Because Claude is an Associated Farmer. Like a bull Biggs sees red everywhere. And like a bull, he would smash all opposition. He doesn't believe in unions, doesn't believe that a worker has a right to a job, is content to have his workers sleep on the ground while he boasts he has the "finest house in Sutter County," is proud of his strikebreaking activities, and proclaimed recently, "Any time any farmer has a bunch of strikers on his ranch and wants to get them off, I'll be there with a pick handle—and with a dozen men I'll take out Harry Bridges and hang him!" Those are the views of Claude Biggs, who wants to be sure that he has a dozen men when he tries to hang Harry Bridges; in other words, he is a typical Associated Farmer.

This isn't the first time Marysville has seen a revolt of the workers. The Wheatland Hop Riots, in which four men were killed, were tried here in Marysville. Marysville saw a mockery of justice. Today there are no murders, unless it be the murder of the workers' civil liberties. But the workers of Marysville, the workers of California, the people out of *The Grapes of Wrath*, know how to fight and whom to fight—the Associated Farmers, the DiGiorgio Corp., Claude Biggs, and their allies and stooges—and they won't lose.

ALEX BROOKS.

How to Help the NMU

THE strike of the National Maritime Union against Standard Oil's tankers is still going strong. The CIO seamen have released the following list of Standard Oil products and by-products whose purchase helps the company deny seamen a living wage and decent working conditions:

Gasolines and Oils: Esso Gas, Ethyl, Mobilgas, Socony Vacuum, Mobil Oil, Tydol. *Gas Station Products:* Nu-Trim Wax, Trim (liquid wax), Koto (lubricant), Esso Handy Oil (anti-freeze solution), Trim (furniture polish). *Insecticides:* Flit Powder, Flit Spray, Flit Hand Sprayers, Garden Flit. *Cosmetics:* Daggett and Ramsdell products. *Medicine:* Nujol, Cream of Nujol, Mistol Nose Drops, Mistol (with ephedrine). *Animal Sprays:* Stanco Spray, Livestock Spray, Petrohol (rubbing alcohol), White Oil (high grade alcohol).

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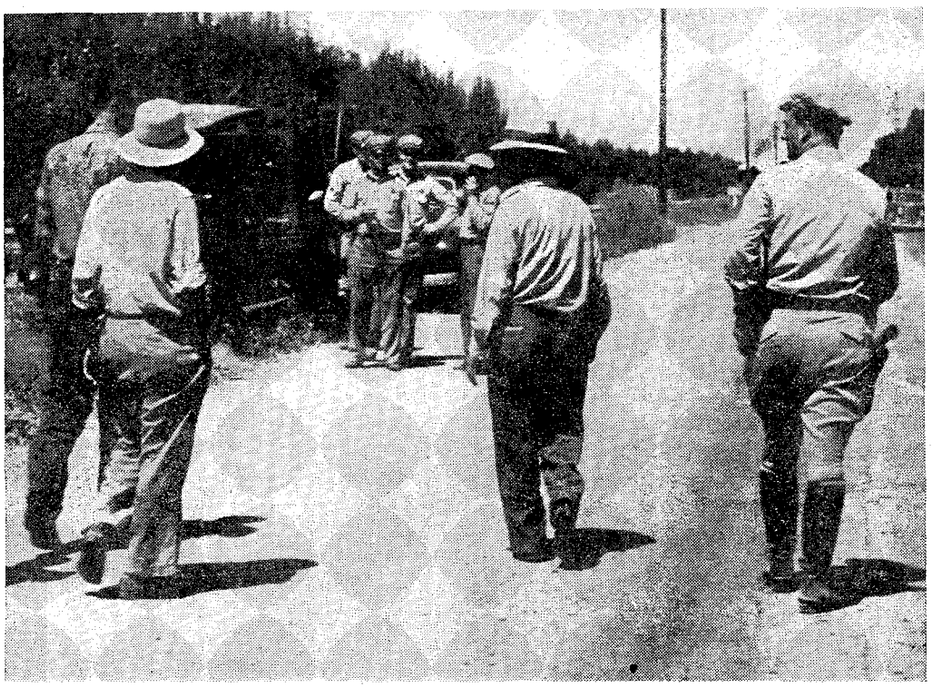

PICKETS IN THE FIELDS. *Even more vivid than the great chapters of Steinbeck's "The Grapes of Wrath" is the present strike of the farm workers of the Earl Fruit Co., for life itself. Far from home, locked out by the great DiGiorgio farm trust, these valiant workers of the Imperial Valley have organized for the first time against the Associated Farmers, Inc. Their picketing rights attacked, their men arrested and jailed on any pretext, the women of Marysville carry on with the inspiration that American democracy will not permit them to die all alone. Locked out of their factories in the fields, these Okies, Arkies, Texies, etc., fugitives from their destroyed farms of the Dust Bowl, are making their last stand for life and liberty on the roads of California. They know whom they are fighting and how to fight.*

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Democracy's Reserves

THERE has been a lot of speculation on the role of the neutrals in the developing European war. "Enigmas" have been specially created by the "experts" so that they could exhibit their skill in solving them. Their favorite enigma, of course, has been the Soviet Union. One day the experts are busy marshaling the Red Army alongside the Reichswehr and putting the vast resources of the Soviet Union at the disposal of their creation —an indeed invincible chimera. The next day, realizing that their lies might be taken all too seriously by certain wavering neutrals and precipitate them all into the Nazi camp, the experts try to minimize their previous cerebrations by pointing out that the Soviet Union needs all its raw material for its own highly developed industry and that there were after all some serious differences of opinion between Communism and fascism.

The other "enigma" is Italy. On the one hand Italian neutrality has been portrayed by the experts as a clever stratagem by the Rome-Berlin axis to protect Germany from an attack in the rear by the Anglo-French alliance and to have Italy serve as a source of supplies for the Nazis. On the other hand it has been pictured as foreshadowing a shift of Mussolini to the Anglo-French camp. Undoubtedly there are serious conflicts of imperialist interest between Germany and Italy, and Mussolini is not enthusiastic about going to war in behalf of Nazi expansionist aims. The non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union has certainly not helped increase Mussolini's faith in Hitler.

While Italy's neutrality may or may not for the present be advantageous to Germany, there can be no doubt that the neutrality of Spain—thanks to the non-aggression pact—is an important loss to the Nazis. "Spain's neutrality," wrote Major George Fielding Eliot in the September 8 issue of the New York *World-Telegram,* "is a serious blow to Nazi hopes, as Spanish bases were essential to German submarine and surface operations against British trade routes and the Mediterranean and Atlantic sea routes between France and her African colonies." Japan's defection because of the pact is likewise a blow to Hitler.

The neutrality of all of these fascist dictatorships is based not on opposition to aggression, but on realistic calculations of the chances of plunder. Undoubtedly their neutrality has a price. The only great powers whose neutrality is not based on the prospect of blackmail are the USA and the USSR. They are neutral but they are not disinterested. Both have all the territory that they need for their economic development. Both are earnestly interested in world peace. But with all their power and territory neither of them can afford to tolerate a decisive Nazi victory. How "enigmatic" the Soviet Union's attitude is has been demonstrated this week when it put into effect what are practically the provisions of President Roosevelt's "cash and carry" policy which the pro-Nazi isolationists defeated in the last Congress. In the last analysis the USA and the USSR are democracy's reserves, bulwarks in the fight for peace.

That Moscow Gold

BEN GITLOW came back from the dungheap of history last week. He told the Dies committee his story, a nostalgic tale of dough and diamonds, harking back to the gay twenties when Gitlow himself held a post of leadership in the Communist Party. What he said has significance only insofar as the reactionaries make use of it. For example, the stale tale about Communist financial support for the Brophy campaign in the miners' union has meaning today only to bolster the fortifications of the Stolberg line against the labor movement. The hoary canard about Amtorg employees contributing funds to the Communist Party serves merely to embarrass a nation with whom the United States maintains normal diplomatic relations at a moment in world history when cooperation between the USA and the USSR is more than ever necessary. The New York *Times* news story of September 9 gives it all away in the phrase "the testimony will be given to the Department of Justice with a request to start proceedings against party leaders for failure to register as agents of a foreign power, a penitentiary offense."

The old-faithful press gave Gitlow's murky reminiscences front page space. No paper except the *Daily Worker,* however, carried the news that Homer Martin, Lovestone agent among the auto workers, received a "stack of bills about two inches high in $20 denominations" from John Gillespie, Ford Motor Co. labor relations expert, last May. The charge comes from Harry Elder, former Martin bodyguard, in a sworn affidavit. Elder also reveals that Martin shelled out Ford money for St. Louis gunmen, imported to beat up Emil Mazey, John Ringwald, and Walter Reuther, among other auto union leaders. Martin is also revealed to have accommodated Gerald L. K. Smith, notorious fascist, with the membership lists of the auto union. Elder's affidavit was made public by the CIO auto union.

Homer Martin was a phony, as every progressive trade unionist will tell you. Gitlow is a turkey of the same feather. That is why the Communists had to get rid of him and his kind as a precondition for healthy growth in the last decade. Many American liberals during the Moscow trials could not comprehend how ranking figures in the Russian labor movement turned rat. The spectacle of Gitlow before the Dies committee should help.

War—How Long?

THE British Cabinet decided last Saturday "to base its policy on the assumption that the war will last three years or more." At first glance, this announcement appears to answer Marshal Goering's speech to Berlin munitions workers the day before. Goering was concerned, in essence, with assuring the German people that the Nazis were prepared for an extended conflict. "You must believe me," he commanded, "when I tell you that the thesis of a long war weakening a nation is not true." Many of the rest of his remarks were devoted to assurances on the strength of the Nazi airforce, the ability of the Nazis to withstand blockade, reassurances on progress in Poland, on the neutrality of the Soviet Union, on the unimportance of the United States in the Nazi calculations.

Naturally, the world listens to Goering with more than a grain of salt. Likewise, the question is not whether England is prepared, or is preparing, for a three years' war. More important assumptions involve the nature of the war itself. If this is a true struggle against German fascism, for the independence of Poland and the liberation of all the oppressed peoples of Europe, the British announcement is gratuitous. It matters little how long that war takes although, certainly, people want it concluded in the shortest possible time.

On the other hand, the British announcement comes at a moment when suspicion is mounting that this war is no more than an unusual, frightful stage toward a new Munich. Said the shrewd French reactionary, de Kerillis, "A war can be made without declaring it. It can also be declared without making it." That is why the British announcement assures no one. The world remembers that the men of Munich were incapable of winning the peace. Can they win a war?

Alas, Poor Easley

RALPH M. EASLEY, chairman of the Executive Council of the National Civic Federation, died last week. Noted in his long career as America's No. 1 Red-baiter, the late Mr. Easley is best known to friends of fascism as the man who advised Boris Brazol in the most efficient methods of disseminating the "Protocols of Zion" and for his collaboration with the Nazi agent George Sylvester Viereck in attempts to get the people of America to buy Nazi goods.

Easley's red herrings shone and stank in the moonlight with such brilliance and bouquet that he attracted the following honorary pallbearers at his funeral—all leaders in the fight against the American people: J. Mayhew

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Wainwright, Daniel Willard, Major Gen. James G. Harbord, Percy S. Straus (!), Frank L. Polk, Charles D. Hilles, Frederick H. Ecker, Sir William Wiseman, Col. Theodore Roosevelt, Frederic R. Coudert, Ernest T. Weir, Major Gen. John F. O'Ryan.

Telegrams of condolence bemoaning the loss of so active a betrayer of the United States Constitution and American liberty were received from John W. Davis, former Gov. Frank O. Lowden, of Illinois, George B. Cortelyou, and T. V. Ranck, former editorial manager of the Hearst papers.

The red herrings in the moonlight will not shine as brightly or as nauseously now that Ralph Easley has passed away. Hitler has lost a faithful aide with his death, but friends of democracy can stop holding their noses for a while.

Treason in the Army

AMERICANS who sought an understanding of the treason trials in the USSR involving military figures may now look at certain events happening in our own country. Last week in Philadelphia the Federal Bureau of Investigation forwarded a report to Washington naming seven U. S. Army and National Guard officers who have been attending German-American Bund meetings in Philadelphia. The officers are said to have attended several meetings and to have given the Hitler salute.

Army personnel is a mysterious factor politically, since regulations forbid political activity. The actions of the retired General Moseley have indicated the rabid medievalism of certain high-ranking officers; the Philadelphia incident is another alarming indication that fascism may have penetrated further than we would like to think. The administration must act in the most vigorous way to clear the U. S. Army of fascists, just as the USSR strengthened its army by uprooting the Nazi cells.

The Jews and the War

TO THE Jewish masses of America the war in Poland is no abstract chart of battle lines on a wall map. Every one of these unpronounceable names in the war bulletins means a town, a large part of whose population is Jewish, and millions of American Jews have relatives still living in those towns. Three and a half million Jews who have been leading a none too happy existence under the anti-Semitic rule of the Polish landowners now face extermination by the Nazis.

In this critical hour of Jewish history, ignoring the fact that three and a half million Jews live happily under socialism with the Red Army between them and the horrors of fascism, the bourgeois Yiddish press has joined the American capitalist press in yelping against the Soviet Union—the only country in the world where the Jew enjoys full political, economic, social, and cultural equality. All the stale calumnies about the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact have been headlined in the Yiddish press and every effort is being made to turn the profound anxiety of the American Jews over the fate of their Polish brethren into antagonism against their truest friend. Litvinov, who has been liquidated often in the Yiddish press, was again dragged out and shot by a firing squad of Yiddish journalists. As one exception to the disgraceful chorus (the *Yiddische Welt* of Philadelphia) states it, "In Poland the Jews are already covered with blood. Here we are covering ourselves with shame."

The Jewish masses will not be deluded by such unscrupulous propaganda. They know who is really responsible for the fate of the Polish Jews. They know that it is the refusal of the British and Polish governments to permit the Red Army to aid in the defense of Poland that exposed both the Jewish and Catholic masses of Poland to the horrors of Nazi invasion. The imperialist gamblers who gambled away Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Spain in a reckless attempt to plot the destruction of the Soviet Union are now gambling the existence of Poland on that same card.

Why, Mr. Broun!

AMONG the casualties of the Hitler propaganda concerning the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact we are sorry to see the name of Heywood Broun. Mr. Broun has been a good fighter in many progressive causes, but someone has apparently neglected to tell him the facts of diplomatic life. For instance, consider this from his September 8 column:

> There is one factor in the Reich-Soviet pact which should gag in the throats of all radicals outside of Russia. When the military mission came from Moscow its members were hustled immediately into an audience with Hitler. The Communist commanders were driven in cars which carried both the swastika and the hammer and sickle.

As an old newspaperman himself Mr. Broun does not seem to have done much checking of facts. We pointed out in our last issue that the Soviet "military mission" to Germany is non-existent. The story about the mission was denied not only by Tass, the Soviet news agency, but by the United Press in a Berlin dispatch on September 4. The so-called military mission is actually a new military attache and his staff. We don't know whether or not they were hustled immediately into an audience with Hitler, but if they were, that was Hitler's doing. His purpose is obvious from the fact that even Heywood Broun was taken in by it.

As for that sinister liaison between the swastika and the hammer and sickle—tut, tut, Heywood, matters are far worse. Ever since Hitler came to power there has been a swastika flag on the building housing the Soviet embassy in Berlin. The same flag may be found outside the American and every other embassy. Likewise there is a hammer and sickle flag on the German embassy in Moscow. Ditto the American and every other embassy. Mr. Broun has apparently never been introduced to a gentleman named Mr. Protocol. We didn't expect to see him taken for a ride by those city slickers.

What Party Was It?

THE party that was reported to have been split beyond repair by the Soviet-German pact held a mass meeting in New York's Madison Square Garden three weeks after. The party's membership in New York City is thirty thousand. Two-thirds of that number were in the Garden. More would have come, but the Garden only holds 20,000; thousands were turned away. The party that was split and publicly discredited by the pact enrolled 2,500 new members at the meeting. The party pledged to Hitler (by the press) voted all possible aid to Poland and those who help Poland's struggle against Hitler. It surprised the New York *Times* because "no swastikas mingled with the hammer and sickle." The party that isolationists claimed wanted to get this country into war voted for its neutrality.

Schooldays

TWO MILLION children returned to New York City's public schools this week. The schools were open, but the community and recreation centers were closed. High school athletic centers remain closed. Nature study has been eliminated. Evening high schools are limited to those seeking state regents' credits. Other vital services have been curtailed. All classes are overcrowded. This is the consequence of the action taken at its last session by the Republican-controlled New York State Legislature. The false cry of economy has succeeded in wiping out services that all enlightened educators regard as essential. We are glad to note that the campaign of parents and teachers to restore the budget cuts is continuing with renewed energy this year. The American schools, as we have repeatedly said, are democracy's first line of defense.

The Grapes of Wrath

THE organized attack on John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath,* described by Samuel Sillen in last week's issue, assumes special significance this week. On September 15, the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee is scheduled to begin an investigation of Associated Farmers, Inc., the pro-fascist group which has led the campaign against the book. The "obscenity" hullabaloo is an obvious attempt to obscure the real question; namely, the nature and extent of civil liberties violations in California. It should also be noted that the censorship fight directly involves the forthcoming movie production of the novel by 20th Century-Fox. The Kern County Chamber of Commerce is trying to forestall this production with its own three-reel color film, *Plums of Plenty*. This is a national issue, and we hope that readers will inform us of censorship in their communities.

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Readers' Forum

Answering Heywood Broun

TO NEW MASSES: Enclosed is a letter I addressed to my neighbor, Mr. Heywood Broun, after his column of September 8, in which he speculates on the anguish of German Communists upon learning of the ratification of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact.

[Enclosure]

My dear Mr. Broun: If you were a Communist in Germany today and if the column you wrote for the New York *World-Telegram* of September 8 reached you, I feel confident that you would consider it very superficial stuff. For you would know, if you were a Communist in Germany, that since the purpose of your enemies in England and in Germany too—an attack on the Soviet Union—had been prevented, now both your party and the Soviet Union had been strengthened. For that reason your chances of leaving prison and of building a democratic Germany would, as you can understand, be greatly enhanced.

If you were a Communist in Germany, you would not consider the problem from one angle alone, in one specific country, but you would take the long view of welcoming the strengthening of the working class in the East and in the fascist states of the Western hemisphere.

However, since you are not a Communist in Germany but a commentator in the United States, you feel certain indignities and write as freely as is your wont. But I ask this of you, that you do not put words into the mouths of my comrades abroad nor mourn too long my party's position in America. Better, Mr. Broun, to study what was involved before attempting to interpret the feelings and manufacture the comments of my comrades for your public.

(Mrs.) HESTER HUNTINGTON.
New Canaan, Conn.

Arkansas Fellow Traveler

TO NEW MASSES: I should very much like to know why James B. Beatty, in his article, "Stix Nix Fink Pix" (NEW MASSES, August 22), characterizes Gov. Carl E. Bailey of Arkansas as a "Democratic backslider."

While he is admittedly no Earl Browder, Mr. Bailey is by far the most liberal and capable governor this state has ever had. At a time when the federal machine, dominated by Homer Adkins, collector of internal revenue, is planning to gang up on Governor Bailey and put its reactionary candidate into the field, it behooves all the liberals of a state where liberals are few and far between vigorously to support their progressive governor.

Cotter, Ark. JOHN T. APPLEBY.

Anti-Coughlin Resolution

TO NEW MASSES: Dan Reilly, in "Add Guild Convention" (NEW MASSES, August 22), mentions "a vigorous resolution condemned Charles E. Coughlin, branding him as 'an enemy of progressive unionism, a harbinger of fascism, and a would-be strikebreaker,' and that it was introduced "by one of the Chicago strikers, himself a long-time member of the Catholic Church." I don't wish to appear captious, but because the resolution has attracted widespread mention, sometimes confused, allow me to make these points clear:

The resolution I offered was amended to end with the word "strikebreaker." I do not feel I introduced any resolution except the full original, which went on from "strikebreaker" to request that Father Coughlin's superiors exercise "the severest possible disciplinary action against him . . . with the end in view of removing the outstanding abuser of the right of free speech in America."

Further, since the point was raised by Heywood Broun in offering the amendment and is germane here, the title "Father" preceded my mention of the priest. Reilly's story doesn't use the title in the quoted resolution.

A lesser point is that I am not merely a "long-time Catholic" but an all-time Catholic. I mention this only because some reader might think that I, like the amender, was a convert. On the same scale is the correction that in the resolution I used upper case for the word "fascism" and find it in lower case in NEW MASSES.

JACK GIBBONS MORRIS.
Chicago. Hearst Strike Unit.

Workers School

TO NEW MASSES: A number of NEW MASSES editors and contributors are among the staff of seventy instructors and special lecturers who will teach in the Workers School during its fall term, which opens September 25. These include A. B. Magil, Bruce Minton, Anna Rochester, C. A. Hathaway, Harry Raymond, Harry Gannes, Elizabeth Lawson, Herbert Biel, Howard Selsam.

Of special interest to NEW MASSES readers will be the course in the New Deal, examining the Roosevelt policies in all their phases; Current Events, a Survey of the News of the Week, by Harry Gannes—a course of particular importance to those who wish to keep abreast of the rapid changes in Europe and America; These Twenty Years, a History of Post-War America (Bruce Minton, instructor); a symposium entitled The Negro in the Modern World; Literature as a Social Force in the Struggle for Democracy and Socialism in Russia; Contemporary Literature and the Defense of Democracy; The Foreign Policy of the USSR; The Legislative Process and American Political Institutions; A Survey of Science.

The Workers School is now offering more than one hundred classes. Catalogues will be mailed on request to Room 301, 35 East 12th St., New York City.

EDWARD SMITH,
New York City. Assistant Director.

Now Fair to Labor

TO NEW MASSES: This will inform you that the Pepsodent Co. is now fair to the Chicago Newspaper Guild Hearst strikers. In a letter to the guild, J. Baxter Gardner, advertising manager, states:

"We have again carefully considered the various requests we have had to discontinue our advertising in the struck Chicago *Evening American* and *Herald & Examiner* [now merged into the *Herald-American*]. As a result we are pleased to advise you that we have issued instructions to our agency that no further copy is to appear."

The Pepsodent Co. requests that all supporters of the guild, whose protests brought about its withdrawal, be notified that it no longer advertises in the struck papers.

EDWARD E. CLARKE,
Chairman, Advertising Committee,
Chicago. Hearst Strike Committee

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A New Way of Life

Corliss Lamont's "You Might Like Socialism" makes a timely and illuminating contribution to the understanding of the world crisis.

YOU MIGHT LIKE SOCIALISM: A WAY OF LIFE FOR MODERN MAN, *by Corliss Lamont. Modern Age Books. 95 cents.*

CORLISS LAMONT has at various times been described by the Peglers and Sokolskys of the press as "an over-reformed blue blood," "a silkshirt Communist," and "a young Park Avenue socialite whose palms have never known the corns and bunions of hard toil." He has been advised by these sturdy proletarians that the son of a Morgan partner has no business being a radical. It's not cricket for a Phillips Exeter and Harvard man to picket the Exchange.

Why *do* members of the upper class go left? Lamont asks in the opening chapter of this book. For many of them do, after all, even though the movement can hardly be characterized as a mass migration. Robert Owen was a wealthy textile manufacturer; Friedrich Engels' father belonged to a firm which owned factories in Germany and England; Sidney Webb is Lord Passfield; Chu Teh is the scion of a wealthy family of landlords; Jawaharlal Nehru is the son of a Brahman. Wendell Phillips did not endure "the corns and bunions" of slavery, and Lincoln Steffens was not a factory operative; yet the one passionately identified himself with the Abolitionist movement and the other with the socialist movement.

Commenting on this phenomenon in *The Communist Manifesto,* Marx and Engels long ago pointed out that "Just as in former days part of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now part of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat. Especially does this happen in the case of some of the bourgeois ideologists, who have achieved a theoretical understanding of the historical movement as a whole." The last sentence is the key to Lamont's answer. Emancipation of the intellect is as revolutionary a struggle on one level as emancipation of labor is on another. Only those who subscribe to a crude fatalism will deny the possibility of the triumph of reason over the prejudices of a privileged class. The triumph is made possible by an uncommon capacity for objectivity and a profound concern for the welfare of mankind. Lamont possesses both qualities. He rests his case for socialism on the appeal to reason and a belief in democracy. As an American who takes our national tradition with due seriousness, he asks: "What indeed could be *more* American than the ideal of complete democracy, of social justice, of economic security, of cultural opportunity, of world peace, and of the right of all men to 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness'?" And he answers that he is a radical because these splendid ideals are outraged by capitalism, whether in its fascist or non-fascist forms, and because "they can be rescued and fulfilled only through the establishment of socialism."

Lamont is a practical idealist. With his inexhaustible enthusiasm for the good life, he combines the willingness and energy to work for the kind of society that will ensure such a life for himself, his children, and his fellowmen. Not enrolled in any political party, Lamont describes himself as an "independent radical and worker for socialism"; but he is surely not the sort of "independent" who holds himself aloof from cooperative endeavor. Indeed, he has a proper contempt for the theorist who "conceives of himself as an important thinker whose function it is to direct the battle, but to remain above it," the impossible know-it-all who "loves to argue over fine points of theory, to draw up blueprints for the socialist utopia, to puff his pipe and pucker his brow and think up splendid new ideas for the guidance of the working class." Such "ultra-pure souls . . . eternally unbesmirched by reality" may be trusted, in moments of crisis, to climb down from the towers to enlist with the enemy.

Lamont's grievance against capitalism may be summed up in a phrase: it has failed mankind. Mankind desires peace, economic well-being, a life of reason and culture, a democratic order in which men will be treated as equals regardless of race or color or economic background. Capitalism decrees war, an unending and intensifying cycle of economic crisis; it sets up unnatural barriers between the masses and cultural resources; it intensifies and exploits differences among human beings. Men live in poverty amidst plenty, in ignorance amidst scientific and artistic riches, in war amidst the universal wish for peace. In the course of its development, capitalism opened up the material possibilities for the fufillment of man's desire. In its latest and most violent phase, fascism, it brutally destroys these possibilities in order to maintain its power. Fascism, it is well to remember, "is contemporary capitalism in the nude, stripped of all garments that hide its ugliness. And neither capitalism nor capitalists in any country can escape their share of

"How many pfennigs?" Ned Hilton

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the responsibility for what fascism, that is, fascist capitalism, does." Lamont's lucid and cogent analysis explodes the myth, which has proved so convenient for the profit system, that economics is too complex a mystery for the ordinary mind.

Lamont's case for socialism is equally clear. Socialism proposes to create the conditions for the fulfillment of man's desire for peace, prosperity, knowledge, and democracy. In the Soviet Union, as Lamont points out in an excellent survey, socialism has already created these conditions. The fatal contradiction between individual profit and social welfare which capitalism is neither willing nor able to resolve does not appear in an economy planned for the greatest good of the greatest number. In spite of apparently insurmountable handicaps, a backward economy to start with, a long period of civil war and intervention, an encirclement of hostile powers, the Soviet Union has already eliminated unemployment, banished social discrimination, enriched the cultural life of a vast and hitherto oppressed population, and taken the lead as a world force for peace. In the chapters dealing with the Soviet Union, Lamont rightly places equal stress on the transformation of both the material and the cultural life of the land. It is impossible here to summarize the evidence. Lamont has marshaled the basic facts in a persuasive exposition which will appeal to the common sense of every open-minded reader. On the basis of his personal experience in the USSR and his close study of its development, he has written a conclusive answer to those who have joined "either the international brigade of Soviet-haters or the association of fair-weather friends," including his former colleague and teacher John Dewey who, as Lamont says, has become a "publicity agent" for Trotsky and other counter-revolutionaries.

The sections on the Soviet peace policy should be read carefully by people who have been confused by the hysterical press campaign of lies and distortions. Lamont is convinced that "collaboration with the Russian peace efforts is one of the categorical imperatives for both nations and individuals that are sincerely working for the abolition of war." He is equally convinced, and the facts bear him out, that the capitalist leaders of the world have sought not the collaboration but the isolation of the Soviet Union. Their collaboration has been limited to Hitler with a view to involving the USSR in a war which they hoped would wreck the socialist society:

> However annoyed American, British, and French capitalism may have grown over the ungentlemanly behavior of the fascist states, they have ever regarded socialism as the main enemy. And the perfect solution for the capitalist classes of the Western powers would be for Germany, Italy, and Japan to concentrate their bellicose attentions on the USSR, deliver Soviet socialism a perhaps mortal blow, and in the process exhaust their own fighting energies for a long time to come. The non-fascist capitalists have all along been terribly apprehensive over the possible collapse of fascist capitalism, fearing it would be supplanted by a socialist system which would confiscate their investments within the fascist nations and set a very bad example to the people of the remaining states.

The Chamberlains of the capitalist democracies were mainly worried "not that their own countries would be defeated in war, but that the *fascist* countries would be."

This is the key to an understanding of world politics. There are three main elements in the picture: fascist aggression, the Munich policy of collaboration with this aggression, and the Soviet collective peace policy. The Soviet Union, as Lamont shows, has repeatedly urged collective agreements, both econmic and military, against aggression. And the capitalist governments, contrary to the wish of their peoples, have repeatedly refused such agreements. At the time Lamont wrote his book, France and Britain were making "apparently genuine" efforts toward an agreement with the Soviet Union in reluctant response to popular pressure. Events have since proved how utterly hollow these efforts were. Chamberlain and Daladier directly collaborated with Hitler to bring on the war in which their peoples are now involved. This is the consequence of Munich, of non-intervention in Spain, of the free hand to aggression in China. Lamont's analysis of the Soviet peace policy and the Chamberlain-Hitler war policy provides a background for understanding the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, a pact which not only disrupted the Berlin-Tokyo axis but achieved the equally important end of disrupting the Berlin-London axis under which the peoples of the world who had not already been crushed were being prepared for the cold-blooded sacrifice.

Lamont notes several differences between the problems which socialism confronted in Russia and those it will confront in America. The superior technological development of capitalism here removes a major obstacle which blocked rapid progress in the early days of the Soviets. The infinitely greater measure of democracy which we enjoy, as compared with the population under the czar, is another great advantage. Lamont rightly stresses the desire of Marxists to achieve socialism in this country through an extension of the democratic processes and the strength of the labor movement. He believes that socialism can be won in this country with a minimum of violence, and this is certainly to be hoped. I suspect, however, that Lamont is a little optimistic about the possibility of persuading the monopolists to abide by the democratic will of even an overwhelming majority of the people. The violent sabotage of the New Deal on both the political and economic fronts is an omen of capitalist behavior when a more radical change is sought by the people. It is perhaps unfortunate that Lamont spends more time on a detailed map of an accomplished socialism in America than he does on capitalism's resistance to those measures which today point toward a more equitable society.

Events will supplement rather than refute Lamont's book. Its appearance at this moment is especially fortunate. For in the hurly-burly of war bulletins we are altogether too likely to forget basic facts and principles. We need, above all, to be reminded that the evils of a competitive society may be intensified under fascism or ameliorated under a liberal government, but that they cannot be finally eliminated short of socialism. Every man is entitled to know all the facts upon which a responsible decision may be based. Lamont has provided these facts in a reasoned document, combining the personal and the historical approach, which deserves wide popularity.

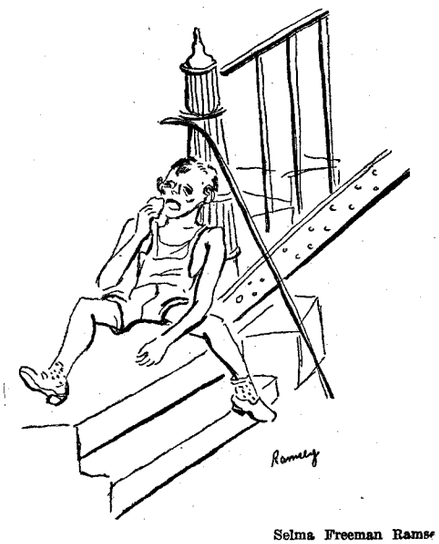
SAMUEL SILLEN.

Frances Wright

FRANCES WRIGHT: FREE ENQUIRER, *by A. J. G. Perkins and Theresa Wolfson. Harper & Bros. $3.50.*

GRADUALLY the story of American radicalism in the 1830's and 1840's is being told, and to that story this book makes an important contribution. Frances Wright made her first visit to America in 1818, when she was twenty-three, and she immediately became the staunchest defender of republican institutions. She returned to the United States as a close friend of Lafayette. Then came the Nashoba experiment, the lectures in New York, and—most important of all—the founding of the Workingmen's Party. The end of her life was an anti-climax, but she had figured in some of the most important and least understood episodes in American history.

Except for W. R. Waterman's Columbia thesis of 1924, this is the first modern biography of Fanny Wright. Miss Perkins and Miss Wolfson have drawn upon many sources, including some hitherto unknown manuscripts, and they have brought forth much significant new material. But there are some surprising gaps in their research, and this is by no means a definitive biography. Unfortunately, also, it is badly written, and it is far from successful in the difficult job of interpreting its heroine's character. The



Selma Freeman Ramse

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student will find in it much that is of value, as well as much that must be criticized. The general reader will still await an adequate treatment of Frances Wright and her period.

G. H.

Vilhjalmur Stefansson

ICELAND: THE FIRST AMERICAN REPUBLIC, *by Vilhjalmur Stefansson. Doubleday, Doran & Co. $3.50.*

UNSOLVED MYSTERIES OF THE ARCTIC, *by Vilhjalmur Stefansson. The Macmillan Co. $3.50.*

THESE two books by America's premier connoisseur of the Arctic are refreshing and informative writing about the Northern countries. His short history of Iceland and his modern picture of that little, progressive island contain some original thoughts on such subjects as: what is American? how near to classless can a bourgeois society be? is self-sufficiency and isolation possible? and a host of other curious possibilities that this remote crossroads of the North Atlantic gives.

Among the "Unsolved Mysteries of the Arctic" Mr. Stefansson has given a most detailed account of the flight, loss, and later search for Levanevsky and the other Soviet polar flyers who disappeared near the top of the world. Not the least original product of this tragic flight was the international cooperation of several countries in the search for the flyers which resulted in establishing the exchange of meteorological data between the weather bureaus of the participating nations.

It is Stefansson's conclusion that the scientific increment due to the Soviet flyers' loss turned out to be greater than what they would have established by a successful flight.

R. T.

Two Fuhrers

THE ARROGANT HISTORY OF WHITE BEN, *by Clemence Dane. Doubleday, Doran & Co. $2.50.*

IN HIGH PLACES, *by William Brown Meloney. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.*

LIKE so many who hate fascism but do not understand what causes it, Clemence Dane and Mr. Meloney treat it as a psychological phenomenon erupting darkly from the hate-filled depths of history into the subhuman mind of Miss Dane's scarecrow White Ben—who, from being a hater of literal crows, becomes a hater of crow-men and then dictator of England in 1954—and into the disease-twisted mind of Mr. Meloney's The Power (Hitler), whose death is postponed through the skillful surgery of a Jew. Both writers deserve credit for hating fascism and for being, somewhat confusedly, aware of its neurosis-caused and neurosis-breeding character. Miss Dane, moreover, is (again vaguely) conscious of the sinister forces that feed on fascism—though her confusion enables her to include Communism among the sinister forces. Mr. Meloney's story is the more readable, Miss Dane's the more "pixilated" and prevus.

Humanist Tradition

ANGLO-SAXONY AND ITS TRADITION, *by George Catlin. The Macmillan Co. $3.*

THE tradition of the Anglo-Saxon is Humanism. Humanism is tradition. Once you go around that circle, Mr. Catlin easily leads you into an explanation of Munich, which says that Munich was neither all good nor all bad. Democracy, actually nothing more than British common law, must fight to preserve itself, not by more Munichs, not by war, not by socialism, not by political organization, but by the Humanist Tradition. If Communists were Communalists, they would be acceptable to Mr. Catlin. At present they are not acceptable, because they believe that Lenin was right in saying that socialists must organize into political parties. Another way they could satisfy Mr. Catlin is by disbanding. Mr. Catlin is a Fabian. He had been research director at the Rockefeller Foundation and professor of Politics at Cornell. John Dewey finds him "a refreshing breeze blowing through a close atmosphere." Such American recognition makes it possible for Mr. Catlin to include all of us in the Anglo-Saxon tradition.

R. H. R.

Sacco and Vanzetti

AFTER TWELVE YEARS, *by Michael A. Musmanno. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.*

JUDGE MUSMANNO, a leading western Pennsylvania progressive, has written a valuable summing up of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, in which he himself was active on the defense. The legal crime against these gentle radicals never weighed the more. Now that passions against the left are being goaded again by the boss press, twelve years after Sacco and Vanzetti fell, this book reminds us of the unspeakable methods of the Red hunt. *After Twelve Years* is a sober, completely documented, and absorbingly readable account of Massachusetts' crime.

J. D.

Albania

THE ALBANIAN STRUGGLE. *Federal Writers Project. The Writer, Inc. Boston. $2.*

WHEN Albania broke into the news after Mussolini's conquest on April 7, few people knew just what was being taken. People, however, as aware of their American history as many on the Boston Federal Writers Project, knew that Albania and Albanians had played a part in the development of this country and particularly in our foreign relations. Vatra, otherwise known as the Albanian Patriotic Society, took root in Boston many years ago and through its membership, Albanian peasants who had become Massachusetts workers helped in securing the independence of the mountainous country on the Adriatic. This book is specialized, of course, but it contains more generally interesting information than

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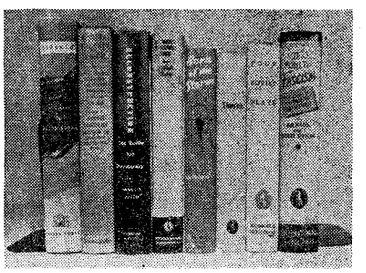

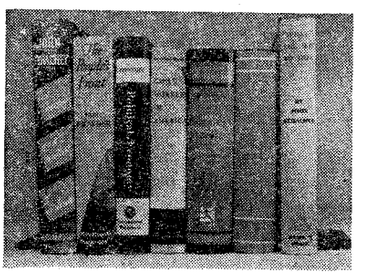

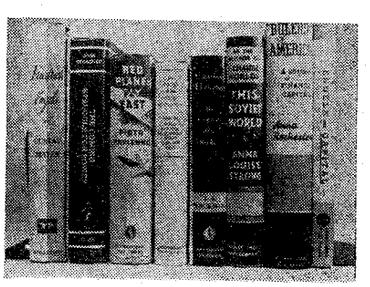

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would be thought by the limitation inherent in its title. It is American history, Albanian history, and the story of Albanian people in both countries.

L. M.

Military and Political

THIS IS WAR! *by Lucien Zacharoff. Sheridan House. $2.50.*

FROM Liddell Hart to George Fielding Eliot, the war dopesters seem to have given little thought about what happens when you pull the trigger. Thus when the smoke clears away and the people find out what all the shooting was for, the generals are left as shocked as the proverbial man who didn't know it was loaded. Although they are the very patterns of modern major generals, their information vegetable, animal, and mineral does not include that most important detail—politics.

Although written for the general or newspaper reader, Zacharoff's *This Is War!* might well do for supplementary reading at the War College. For it tells just what the various armies of the world are up to and the grief they are planning for the civilian populations and each other. It also tells what the civilian may do to evade the streamlined holocaust. No other book about war seems to have done this.

As you read the headlines in the current "war" and wonder what the combatants may do next, this book will give you the necessary background to be not only a military expert but also a fairly good political one. Such information may be caviar to the generals but it is fine reading for the anti-fascist readers.

J. S.

Lumber Workers

DISILLUSION, *by Ben H. Chochrane and William Coldiron. Binfords & Mort, Portland, Oregon. $2.*

THIS is a fictionalized account of the successful organization of lumber mill workers in Grays Harbor, Wash., and of the subsequent defense of the union in the face of a typically ruthless application of the Mohawk Valley Plan by a specially imported expert from the East. As a presentation of the technique of strikebreaking and union-busting, the novel is accurate and, despite the sometimes excruciating imperfections in literary craftsmanship, worth reading. Bill Jackson, the central character, though crudely drawn and too melodramatically redeemed, is a recognizable portrait of the ambitious young "company man" who believes that by being "loyal" to the boss he can rise out of the class of his fellow workers. His "disillusionment" when he is at last fired is one that we can all profitably contemplate. It is interesting to note the publication of a labor novel by a publishing firm in Oregon.

C. G.

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SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

Old Folks at Home

A new French film by Julien Duvivier . . . "March of Time's" aviation reel . . . Some other movie reports.

THE Filmarte (N. Y.), which makes a custom of opening its season with distinguished films like *Carnival in Flanders* and *Grand Illusion,* has brought in a picture by the French director Julien Duvivier, made after he returned home from his disastrous employment with MGM. *The End of the Day* is about one of the most loathsome institutions of capitalism, the home for the aged, where uselessly worn humanity is thrown to die via charity. The Abbaye de St. Jean Riviere, a formal chateau in the south of France, is not an ordinary Home, for its guests are all aged actors, wearing out their days in genteel memories. The director is interested in the professional traits which hang on with these old people, jealousies, frustrated careers, ghosts of old loves and ovations, rather than in the basic thing, that they are the discards of bourgeois society, a modern version of the primitive practice of burning grandmothers. It is positively appalling to see an hour and three-quarters of fine acting on this theme and not a note of protest. There is only the unwinding of the story of an aged matinee idol who contrives means of bolstering his ego, making himself believe women are still mad about him. Duvivier has three or four very fine main characters, of which Michel Simon has the role of a former understudy, an ugly, clumsy eccentric still doggedly trying to win theatrical fame by brags and antics. M. Simon is a prime favorite in France but I find an hour of him enough. Louis Jouvet is the aging idol, Saint Clair, a man whose vanity has made for him a life of sham and a sadistic use of others to keep the sham alive. The rest of the sixty old folks are superbly cast and directed with keen insight. *The End of the Day* has its great moments but the close confines of the director's philosophy leads him into some false denouements. For instance, Saint Clair induces a pretty servant girl to shoot herself after leaving a farewell note he has dictated to her. Again the existence of the Home is threatened and suddenly it is saved when all the Paris newspapers conduct a fund drive for it.

The old weakness of pseudo-realistic films sticks out in the picture. First a deplorable situation is shown, one that is universal in capitalist society, and then the situation is particularized and given distinctive characteristics by making it a home for actors instead of merely old people. Then the situation is further reduced to several individuals and it is a simple trick to dispose of them and ostensibly the entire problem. Thus the central development of Duvivier's film is bound up with the ontinuation of the home; when the home is ved in an inexplicable manner, all of his plots are also terminated happily. What has actually happened is that the old people are right where they started. The film has no sense of growth as has such a magnificent picture as *The Childhood of Maxim Gorky,* which I saw again last week. When I first saw this picture I thought it was great and now I'm sure it is an enduring screen masterpiece. There is a very deep sense of the past and the future in Mark Donskoy's film, despite the fact that it seems preoccupied with a literal filming of the incidents of *My Childhood.* But in crazy Grandfather Kashirin's lapses of kindness to the boy, when he speaks of his own youth, old Russia, the fierce beatings he underwent, you can realize the past. The boy Gorky grows and looks about him and learns and when he trudges down a long road into the world at the end, it is not the mechanical unwinding of a two hour plot, but the end of a young boy's life, before he goes on and the world goes on, changing and growing. We shall soon see the second picture in the Gorky biography. In the meantime you have missed a noble motion picture if you have not seen *The Childhood.*

Duvivier does not convey this living, developing character of his situation, either backward or forward, as *Grand Illusion* did. *The End of the Day* is notable for its fine acting, photography, and adroit direction, rather than for any intrinsic quality.

In "March of Time's" new essay, *Soldiers with Wings,* glistening shoals of bombers swim through the air like giant brook trout, and their motor thunder achieves the notable effect of sounding as impressive as the voice of Van Voorhees. The picture outlines the very recent development of United States air power, the drive for 25,000 new flyers and three thousand planes, completing the seven billion dollar arms program which has been in the making since Hitler burned the Reichstag. The army's dozen B-17 flying fortresses are shown in some detail, with their four motors and five machine-gun bays commanding every vantage. These dreadnaughts of the upper air have a marvelous bombsight which can place a ton of explosive within a couple of city blocks of the objective from four miles in the sky. *Soldiers with Wings* is one of MOT's better subjects.

DISA AND DATA

Paris was scheduled to see Andre Malraux's picture of the Spanish War, *Sierra de Teruel,* on September 15, but the war censorship may have prevented the premiere. The film is adapted from *Man's Hope,* and was directed by Malraux himself, his first venture with the movies. Shooting was barely completed in and around Barcelona when the city fell. Malraux escaped with the film and edited it in Paris. . . . *Our Leading Citizen* is the biggest Paramount flop in five years. Unions all over the

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nation acted rapidly to kill it off. . . . In the same Broadway newsreel house where a year ago fist fights broke out when "March of Time's" *Inside Germany* was shown, there was extreme apathy at the first newsreels of the Second World War. Several newsreels repeat the reactionary charge that the USSR is responsible for the war, something that will be rather bewildering to ordinary people who cannot understand how Stalin could make a war by not making a war. . . . The Chase National Bank is financing the making of films in fascist Spain "for international distribution." Franco has released $250,000 of frozen Chase assets to launch production. . . . Screen Playwrights, the company union, is about defunct. . . . Hollywood is severely affected by the war. Of the total foreign revenue of American films, 45 percent is made in England and about 25 percent in other countries involved in the war. Producers of big budget pictures, which must clean up in the foreign market to make money, are forced to curtail activity for the duration of war. Walt Disney will be particularly hard hit as half of his business is done abroad. Production on Chaplin's *The Dictator,* an attack on Hitler, may be discontinued due to a desire to respect United States neutrality. Personally we can't think of a better time to rush the picture through. . . . The British government has officially named Alexander Korda chief of propaganda film production. Just admitting it.

JAMES DUGAN.

War by Radio

Commentators take the stage in the Second World War.

DURING the Munich prologue radio did a brilliant job of making European affairs as popular as Shirley Temple, so expertly that undue tears were shed over the demise of the press. War, however, is a different matter. Except for colorful and sometimes detailed broadcasts from Warsaw, radio has encountered the same cryptic censorial blanket that newspapermen face. All the romantic notions of broadcasts from the battlefields, or even of bombing raids in the cities, are out of the question. Yet radio captures our greatest attention because it can still give us the first flashes of official communiques. This does not cut down newspaper runs, as you can readily learn at any newsstand. The newspaper loses on-the-minute timing, but still holds its place as a steady record of events.

Aside from the we-interrupt-this-program-to-bring-you-a-special-newsflash aspect of radio we have the commentators who storm the ether in breathless legions, blowing up the last minute's teletype clip into a dissertation. I heard one of these experts juggle for some twenty minutes the question of whether the *Athenia* was torpedoed or struck by a mine, after which he decided it was a torpedo. He had scarcely taken a drink of icewater before the announcer reported it was a gunboat shell.

The foreign experting has been little better.

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Even such a normally sharp character as John Gunther is plainly throwing out filler. He just doesn't know any more about it than we do. Only once did I get a sniff of coming events and this from Gunther's only broadcast where he had some actual eyewitness news. He attended the Saturday session of Parliament when all of us confidently expected another Munich. The day before Sir Arthur Greenwood, spokesman of the Labor Party, had slavishly followed Mr. Chamberlain with a vacillating speech. When Gunther reported that Greenwood had stood up on Saturday, again after the prime minister, amidst cries of "Speak for England!" I knew it was war. The next morning it was war.

I submit that experting will drop off into the background, unless the experts come out from behind their objective whiskers and stand for a particular viewpoint. The maundering attempts to be impartial are only confusing. We can be partial without getting into the war. There is, for instance, no one on the air speaking for the USSR, although many of the commentators have attached decent reservations to the panic propaganda that the USSR is aiding Germany. As this business develops it will become vital to all sides to hear a straight expression of the Soviet position. This position has been amply available to the press in the texts of frequent speeches by Voroshilov and Molotov, and *Pravda* editorials. The Moscow dateline disappeared from the front pages as soon as the boys got their gaping mouths closed after the non-aggression pact. The fink estate is following its own logic in regard to the USSR—if it isn't a rumor ignore it.

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That the mike can arrange its wires to give us on-the-spot description seems impossible in the face of the war censorship. There may be some Potemkin visits like Billy Rose's idea of taking a small Balkan war on tour, but it's going to be tough to look at this war as John Reed looked at the last, and a hell of a lot tougher dragging a mike and several miles of wire.

But I have an idea the gadget boys will figure out ways. This will be wonderful for those of us who would like to see Hearst and Howard confined to sports and comic strips.

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